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THE JESUIT RELATIONS

AND

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VOL. IV

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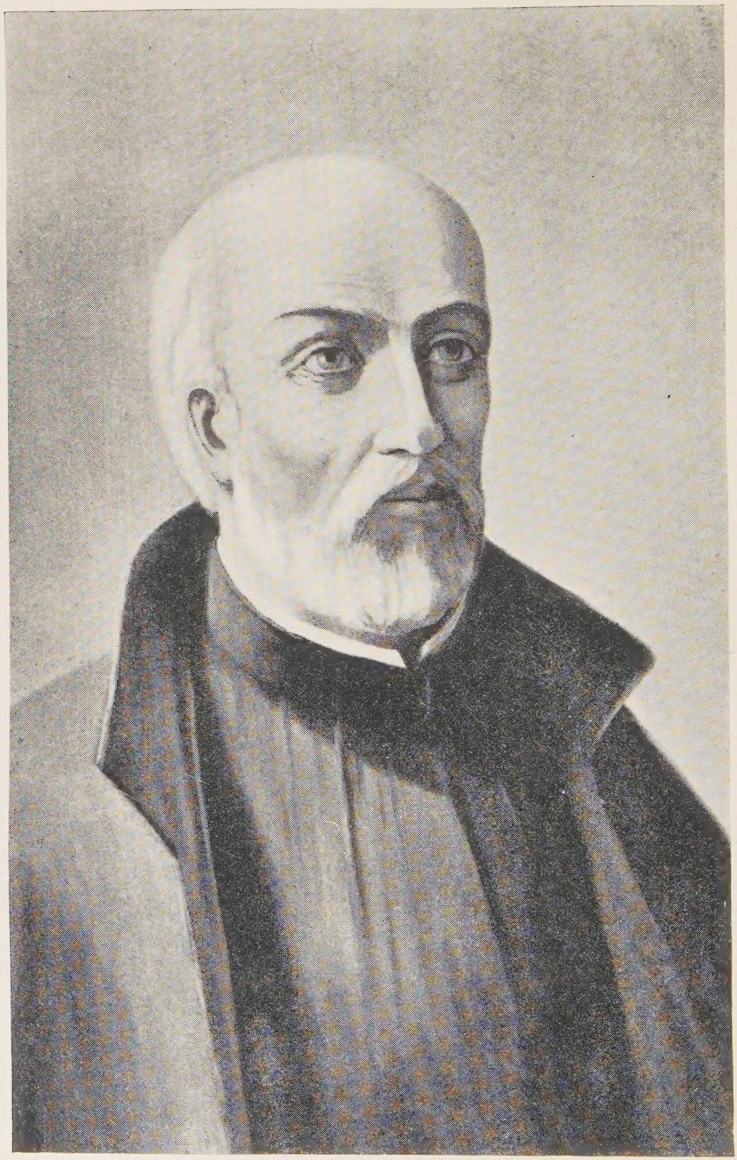

JEAN DE BRÉBEUF, S.J.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. IV

ACADIA AND QUEBEC: 1616-1629

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers Company, PUBLISHERS, M DCCC XCVII

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The Imperial Press, Cleveland

3295

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PREFACE TO VOL. IV

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in the present volume:

XIV. In the concluding portion (Chapters xxvi.–xxxvii.) of the *Relation* of 1616, Biard relates how he and Father Quentin were taken to Virginia, where they narrowly escaped death; they then were sent to England, and finally to France, arriving there after a captivity of over nine months, and being subjected to many perils by sea and land. The annalist records what progress the Christian religion has made in New France. The missionaries have now learned the nature of the country, and the character and needs of the people; and the colonists have established friendly relations with the savages. The latter have some general knowledge of religion, and are anxious to be baptized. Several miracles are recounted, in the cure of persons given up as dying. Biard then discusses at length the respective territorial claims of the French and English in the New World, and contends that New France should extend southward at least to 39°. He concludes by urging that more attention should be given in France to both the temporal and religious interests of Canada, especially to the conversion of the savages.

Between the dates of Documents XIV. and XV. in our series, there is a break of nine years. The Jesuit

mission in Acadia had abruptly closed with the attack by Argall, so fully described in the writings of Biard, who, in his *Relation* of 1616, appears for the last time upon our stage. Meantime, the Récollet friars were conducting their missions upon and beyond the St. Lawrence; but,— as related in the Introduction (Volume I. of this series) and in Notes to this Volume, *post*,— finding themselves unequal to the great task, they invited the Jesuits to return to New France and aid them in the conversion of the savages. The first of the "black gowns" to arrive (April, 1625) were Charles Lalemant, Massé, and Brébeuf.

XV. Lalemant, as superior of the mission, writes (July 28, 1625) to the governor, Champlain, announcing the arrival of the Jesuits at Quebec, the hospitality of the Récollets to them, and the death of Nicholas Viel, of the latter order.

XVI. On the same date, Lalemant writes to the provincial of the Récollets, thanking him for the kindness and hospitality shown the Jesuits by himself and others of his order in Canada.

XVII. Lalemant writes (Aug. 1, no year mentioned, but without doubt 1626) to his general, at Rome. He tells what the Jesuit missionaries have accomplished during the past year: they have spent most of the time studying the language of the natives, for which purpose Brébeuf spent the winter among the savages; they had learned all they could of the people and the country; and had preached to and confessed the French colonists. They had established one residence among the Indians. He announces that he sends Noyrot back to France, to look after the interests of their mission.

XVIII. On the same date as the foregoing, Lalemant writes to his brother Jerome, in France, who is also a Jesuit. The missionary gives a short description of the country and the climate; then of the people, their customs, religious belief, clothing, etc.; describes the extent of the Canadian trade with France; and tells of the establishment of a residence for the Jesuits, near that of the Récollets. The difficulties encountered by the missionaries in acquiring the native languages, are mentioned, together with their relations with a certain interpreter, and the help received from him. The writer tells of Brébeuf passing the entire winter among the savages of the vicinity; Lalemant went on a similar trip, and had to return in eleven days, as his improvident hosts had no food. He announces his probable departure for a longer stay among the natives. He sends Noyrot back to France, in the interests of the mission, and Brébeuf and De Noue to the Huron country. The natives are ready to be taught, the writer says, and he sends a little Huron boy to be instructed in France. Champlain and Gaumont have, he says, chosen him as their confessor. He wishes to name their first church, "Our Lady of the Angels," and asks his brother to send him therefor "A fine picture surrounded by angels." The busy superior mentions this as the sixty-eighth letter he has just written to France,—chiefly to benefactors of the mission, and "those who have written to me."

Lalemant (see *note* 20, *post*, for details) had gone to France for supplies for the colony, in November, 1627; and upon his return in May, 1628, was with others captured by the English Admiral Kirk, to whom, a year later, Quebec capitulated. The Jesuits

were sent to England, and thence allowed to return to France. Lalemant, with a party of missionaries, again attempted to return to Canada (June, 1629), but they were shipwrecked on the Canso rocks. Two of the adventurous Jesuits were drowned, another remained in the country, but Lalemant returned to France.

XIX. Lalemant writes (Nov. 22, 1629), from Bordeaux to the superior of the Jesuit college at Paris, describing the shipwreck he had recently experienced, in which Father Noyrot and Brother Louis Malot were drowned; and announcing his own safe arrival at Bordeaux.

July 5, 1632, Émery de Caen, the French fur-trade monopolist, arrived at Quebec, commissioned to reclaim that stronghold from Kirk. With him were the Jesuits Le Jeune and De Noue, who had been sent hither to reopen the mission of their order in New France.

The Editor gratefully acknowledges the receipt of information from the following gentlemen, relative to annotations in this volume: Dr. John G. Bourinot, Dr. Douglas Brymner, Capt. E. Deville, and Mr. L. P. Sylvain, of Ottawa; Mr. William McLennan, Mr. C. H. Gould, and Rev. Arthur E. Jones, of Montreal; and Mgr. T. E. Hamel, Dr. N. E. Dionne, and Mr. E. E. Taché, of Quebec. To the list of persons named in the General Preface to this series, as having furnished valuable suggestions in the prosecution of the work, the Editor takes pleasure in adding the following: Rev. Joseph Le Halle, S. J., president of St. Ignatius College, Cleveland; Rt. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, R. C. bishop of Cleveland; Rev. E. A.

Higgins, S. J., of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kans.; Rev. A. A. Hartmann, S. J., of Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y.; and Mr. James H. Coyne, of St. Thomas, Ont.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., January, 1897.

XIV (concluded)

Biard's Relation de la Nouvelle France

LYONS: LOUIS MUGUET, 1616

Chaps. xxvi.-xxxvii., and Index, completing the document; Chaps. i.-xxv. appeared in Volume III.

CHAPITRE XXVIII. [i.e., xxvi.]

LE PILLAGE DE NOSTRE NAUIRE, & DE NOS GENTS, LES ANGOISSES OÙ NOUS ESTIONS.

L'ANGLOIS victorieux s'en vint à terre, où eſtoyent nos tentes, & alogements commencés, & fit rechercher noſtre Capitaine de tous tous coſtés, diſant, qu'il vouloit voir nos commiſſiõs; que ceſte terre leur appartenoit, & que pour cela ils s'eſtoyẽt rués ſur nous nous y trouuãts, neantmoins que ſi nous faiſions apparoiſtre de noſtre bonne foy, & que nous fuſſions là venus ſous l'autorité de [238] noſtre Prince, qu'ils y auroyent eſgard, ne voulants en rien contreuenir à la bonne confederation de nos deux Rois. Le malheur fut qu'on ne trouua point la Sauſſaye, à l'occaſion de quoy l'Anglois fin, & ſubtil ſe faiſit de ſes coffres, les crocheta induſtrieuſement, & y ayant trouuée nos commiſſiõs, & lettres royaux, les faiſit; puis remettant toutes les beſongnes en ſa place, chaſque choſe tout ainſi qu'il l'auoit trouuée, referma leſdits coffres gentiment. Le lendemain la Sauſſaye eſtant venu, le Capitaine Anglois, qui ſçauoit fort bien ſa leçon, l'accueillit humainement, & luy fit les premiers interrogats auec belles ceremonies: Puis vint au point: luy demandant ſes commiſſions, à celle fin qu'il n'y euſt aucune doute, quand reellement on verroit, & conſidereroit les paroles, & autorité [239] du Roy noſtre Sire. La Sauſſaye reſpondit que ſes lettres eſtoyent dans ſes coffres. On

CHAPTER XXVIII. [i.e., xxvi.]

THE PLUNDERING OF OUR SHIP, AND OF OUR PEOPLE, AND THE DISTRESSES WE ENDURED.

THE victorious Englishman came on shore, where we had our tents and our houses just begun, and had our Captain searched for in all directions, saying that they wished to see our commissions; that this land belonged to them, and hence they had fallen upon us when they found us there; nevertheless, if we could show our good faith in the matter, and that we had come there under the authority of [238] our Prince, that they would show some regard for it, wishing in no wise to violate the alliance between our two Kings. But the trouble was, la Saussaye could not be found, and on this account the shrewd and cunning Englishman seized his trunks, skillfully picked the locks, and, having found therein our commissions and royal patents, took possession of them; then, putting everything back in its place, each article just as he had found it, nicely fastened the trunks again. The next day, la Saussaye having returned, the English Captain, who knew his lesson remarkably well, received him kindly and made his first inquiries with a fine show of courtesy; then he came to the point and demanded his commission, so there might be no doubt when the words and authority [239] of the King, our SIRE, were actually seen and considered. La Saussaye answered that the letters were in his trunks. These were brought, and

luy apporta ſes coffres, & auant qu'il les ouuriſt auec ſes clefs, on l'aduiſa qu'il regardaſt bien ſi perſonne y auroit touché; car quant à eux ils y alloyent fort ſimplement. La Sauſſaye recognoiſſoit tout eſtre en fort bon ordre, mais malheur! il n'y retrouuoit pas ſes lettres. Icy le Capitaine Anglois chãgea de mine, & de ton, & ſe refroignant comm'il falloit, quoy donc (dit-il) vous nous impoſez icy? Vous donnés à entendre qu'auez commiſſion de voſtre Roy, & n'en pouuez produire aucun teſmoignage? Vous eſtes des Forbãs & Pirates treſtous; vous merités la mort. Et dés lors, il fit la part du butin aux ſoldats: En quoy il conſuma toute l'apres-diſnée. Nous de la terre conſiderions le guaſpillement [240] de tous nos biens: car les Anglois nous laiſſoyent à terre, eux ſe tenants en mer, & ayãts ioints par enſemble nos vaiſſeaux au leur, car nous en auions deux, ſçauoir eſt noſtre nauire, & vne barque conſtruicte ſur le lieu, & equippée de neuf. Nous eſtions reduits en piteux eſtat: mais ce n'eſtoit pas la fin. Le iour ſuiuant on vint à terre, & on nous pilla encores ce qu'y auions: non pas tout du commencement, ains à paſſades, & à chaſque fois qu'on deſcẽdoit à terre, touſiours quelque detrouſſe de nos manteaux, habits, & autres choſes. Vne fois on fit quelques violences, & atrocitez de traictement ſur la perſonne de deux de nos gents, ce qui eſpouuanta tellemẽt vne partie des autres, qu'ils s'enfuirent par les bois comme pauures beſtes eſgarées, demy nuds, & ſans [241] aucuns viures, ne ſçachants ce qu'ils pourroyent deuenir.

Venons aux Ieſuites. Ie vous ay dit, que Gilbert du Thet fut outré d'vne moſquetade durant le combat. Les Anglois entrants dans le nauire le mirent

before he unlocked them he was advised to look closely to see if they had been tampered with, for, as to them, they were acting with all sincerity. La Saussaye found that all was in good order, but alas! he could not find the letters. Hereupon the English Captain changed his mien and his voice, and, frowning in the most proper manner, "How now (said he), are you imposing on us? You give us to understand that you have a commission from your King, and you cannot produce any evidence of it. You are Outlaws and Pirates, every one of you, and merit death." Then he set his soldiers to plundering, and in this the whole afternoon was consumed. From the shore we looked on at the pillage [240] of our property: for the English had left us on shore while they remained on the water, where they joined our vessels to theirs, for we had two, our ship and a barque constructed at this place and newly equipped. We were reduced to a pitiful state, but this was not the end. The next day they came on shore, and robbed us also of what we had there. Not all at one time, but at intervals, and whenever they came on shore, always appropriating some of our mantles, clothes, and other things. Once they maltreated and abused two of our men, which so frightened part of the others that they fled to the woods like poor hunted beasts, half-naked and without [241] food, not knowing what would become of them.

Let us speak of the Jesuits. I have told you that Gilbert du Thet was struck down by a musket ball during the fight. When the English boarded our ship, they put him, together with all the other wounded men, into the hands of their Surgeon. This Surgeon was a Catholic, and known as such. He

entre les mains de leur Chirurgien & luy, & tous les autres bleſſés. Ce Chirurgien eſtoit Catholique, & recognu pour tel; & perſonne fort charitable, & qui nous a faict mille bons offices. Or le P. Biard ayant ſceu la bleſſure de Gilbert du Thet fit demander au Capitaine, que les bleſſés fuſſent portés à terre, ce qui fut accordé, & par ainſi ledit Gilbert euſt le moyen de ſe confeſſer, & de benir & louër Dieu iuſte, & miſericordieux en la Compagnie de ſes Freres, mourãt entre leurs mains. Ce qu'il fit auec grande conſtance, reſignation, & deuotion, [242] vingt & quatre heures apres ſa bleſſure, il euſt ſon ſouhait, car au deſpart de Honfleur, en preſence de tout l'equipage il auoit hauſſé les mains, & les yeux vers le Ciel priant Dieu, qu'il ne reuint iamais plus en France, ains qu'il mouruſt trauaillãt à la conqueſte des ames, & au ſalut des Sauuages. Il fut enterré le meſme iour au pied d'vne grande Croix que nous auions dreſſée du commencement.

Les Ieſuites n'eſtoyent iuſques alors recognus des Anglois, ſinon que pour Preſtres. Or le P. Biard & le P. Enemond Maſſé s'en allerẽt au nauire parler au Capitaine Anglois, & luy expliquerẽt ouuertement comm'ils eſtoyẽt Ieſuites, venus en ces quartiers-là pour la cõuerſiõ des Sauuages, puis le ſupplierent par le ſang de celuy, qu'il recognoiſſoit pour Sauueur, & [243] par les miſericordes qu'il en attendoit, qu'il luy pleuſt auoir pitié de ces pauures François, ſur leſquels Dieu luy auoit dõné puiſſance, & qu'en leur miſere il recognuſt combien les affaires de ce monde varient: qu'il luy pleuſt leur donner & leur moyenner retour en leur pays de France. Le Capitaine les ouyt fort paiſiblement, & leur reſpondit auec pareil

was very charitable, and did us a thousand kind services. Now as soon as Father Biard learned about Gilbert du Thet's wound, he sent a request to the Captain to have all the wounded carried on shore; this was granted, and so the said Gilbert had an opportunity to confess, and to bless and praise a just God, full of mercy to the Society of his Brothers; and he died in their arms. He passed away with great steadfastness, resignation, and devotion, [242] twenty-four hours after he was wounded. He had his wish; for when leaving Honfleur, in the presence of the whole crew, he had raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, praying God that he might never again return to France, but that he might die working for the conquest of souls and for the salvation of the Savages. He was buried the same day at the foot of a large Cross which we had erected when we first went there.

Up to this time the Jesuits had not been recognized by the English, except as Priests. Now Father Biard and Father Enemond Massé went to the ship to speak with the English Captain, and explained to him openly that they were Jesuits, who had come to these regions to convert the Savages; then they implored him, by the blood of him whom he acknowledged as his Savior, and [243] by the mercy which he expected from him, that he might be pleased to have pity upon these poor French, over whom God had given him power; and that in their wretched condition he might see how changeable are the affairs of this world, allow them to return to France, their native country, and furnish them means therefor. The Captain listened to them very kindly, and answered them with like courtesy: "But," (said he) dissembling, "I am very

honneur: mais (dit-il) diſſimulant, ie m'eſtonne fort comme vous autres Ieſuites, leſquels on tient communement pour gens de conſcience, & de Religion, vous vous retrouuiez icy, neantmoins en la compagnie des forbans, & picoreurs, gens ſans adueu & ſans loy, ny honneur. Le P. Biard reſpondit & preuua auec tant d'arguments, que toute leur troupe eſtoit de gens de bien, & recommandés par ſa Majeſté [244] tres-Chreſtienne: & refuta ſi peremptoirement toutes objections contraires, que le Capitaine Anglois fut contrainct de faire ſemblant, qu'il s'y accordoit, vaincu par ſes raiſons. Certes (adiouſta-il) il y a bien eu de la faute, à ce que ie voy, d'ainſi perdre vos lettres. Neantmoins ie traicteray de voſtre retour auec voſtre Capitaine, & dés lors iuſques au depart, il fit touſiours manger à ſa table leſdits deux Peres, leur mõſtrant beaucoup de reſpect & hõneſteté. Or il auoit vn'eſpine au pied, qui le tourmentoit; c'eſtoit le Pilote, & les Matelots, qui eſtoyent euadés, & deſquels il ne pouuoit ſçauoir nouuelles. Ce Pilote appellé le Bailleur, de la ville de Roüen, s'en eſtant allé pour recognoiſtre (ainſi que vous a eſté dit) ne peut point retourner à temps au nauire pour le defẽdre, [245] & partant il retira ſa chaloupe à l'eſcart, & la nuit venuë print encores auec ſoy les autres Matelots, & ſe mit en ſauueté hors la veuë, & le pouuoir des Anglois. De nuict il nous venoit trouuer pour auiſer auecques nous ce qui ſeroit de faire. Il fit en particulier ce bon office aux Ieſuites: car il vint trouuer le P. Biard, & le prenant par la main le coniura de ne ſe point meffier de luy, pource qu'il eſtoit de la Pretenduë, l'aſſeurant qu'il ne manqueroit ny à luy, ny a aucun des Peres: & qu'il ſupplioit Dieu, que tout

much astonished at you Jesuits, who are generally regarded as conscientious and Religious men, being here, nevertheless, in the company of pirates, marauders, and idle wanderers, who are men without calling, without law, and without honor." Father Biard answered, and proved by many arguments, that their whole company were honest people and were recommended by his most Christian [244] Majesty, and so summarily refuted all opposing arguments, that the English Captain had to seem to agree with him, conquered by his logic. "Certainly (he added) there has been indeed some fault, as far as I can see, in thus losing your letters. Nevertheless, I shall consider the matter of your return with your Captain." And from that time until our departure, he always had the two Fathers eat at his table, showing them great respect and courtesy. Now he had a thorn in his side, which caused him much uneasiness; it was the Pilot and Sailors who had escaped, and of whom he could get no news. This pilot,[1] called "le Bailleur," from the city of Roüen, had gone out to reconnoitre (as has been stated), and could not return to the ship in time to defend it; [245] therefore he turned his boat aside, and when night came took in with him the other Sailors, and withdrew to a place of safety, out of sight of the English and beyond their power. At night he came to see us and to talk over with us what was to be done. He performed this kind act especially for the Jesuits; for he came to Father Biard and taking him by the hand implored him not to mistrust him because he was of the Pretended[2] Religion, assuring him that he would not fail him, nor any of the Fathers, and that he should pray God not to forsake him also, as he was speaking from

ainſi il ne l'abandonnaſt point, comm'il le diſoit de cœur ſyncere. Le P. Biard le remercia de bonne affection, & luy promit de ſe ſouuenir de ceſte ſi bonne volonté: il luy dit neantmoins qu'il ne vouloit encores penſer à ſoy, iuſques à ce qu'il vit tous les autres en beau [246] chemin. Que lors il deuiendroit ce qu'à Dieu plairoit, admonneſtant ledit Pilote de ſe garder de tomber és mains des Anglois: parce que le Capitaine buttoit fort à le pouuoir attraper. Ledit Pilote fit ſagement ſon profit de ceſt aduertiſſement, & de celuy des autres. Car de là à deux ou trois iours, il paſſa à la barbe des Anglois, comme ſe ſauuant, & s'en allant chercher nauire, & leur diſant que ce n'eſtoit pas pour ceſte fois là, qu'il le falloit attẽdre. Mais il ſe retira ſeulement derriere quelques Iſles non loin de là pour y eſtre aux eſcoutes & conſiderer quelle fortune nous arriueroit. Cela fit à mon aduis, que le Capitaine Anglois ſe reſolut pluſtoſt à ne nous pas faire pis, toutesfois il en auoit quelque volõté, ce que ie ne ſçay. De vray par les coniectures de ce que nous auons experimẽté [247] deſpuis, il eſtoit bien Capitaine fort ſage & ruſé, mais neãtmoins gentil-homme ayãt le courage noble: ſes gents auſſi n'eſtoyẽt point inhumains, ny cruels contre perſonne de nous.

Or ne ſçauroit-on croire les angoiſſes auſquelles nous eſtions en ce temps, car nous ne ſçauions où donner de la teſte. Du coſté des Anglois, nous n'attendions que la mort, ou du moins la ſeruitude: auſſi d'arreſter ſur le pays, & viure parmi les Sauuages a leur façon tout vn an entier, & tant de gens, nous ſembloit eſtre vne mort bien longue & miſerable. Ces bons Sauuages ayants ouy noſtre deſaſtre s'en

a sincere heart. Father Biard thanked him very affectionately, and on his part promised to remember his good will; he told him, however, that he did not wish to think of himself, until he saw all the others on a safe [246] road, and then, let happen to him what God willed. He admonished the Pilot to be careful not to fall into the hands of the English, for the Captain was trying very hard to catch him. The Pilot wisely profited by this advice, and by that of the others. For, during the next two or three days, he went about in defiance of the English, as if making his escape and going for a ship, seeming to say to them that they need not count upon him this time. But he only withdrew behind some Islands not far off, to be on the lookout and to see what fortune might befall us. I believe this made the English Captain decide not to subject us to any worse treatment, however much he might have wished to do so, in regard to which I know nothing. Certainly, judging from what we experienced [247] afterwards, he was indeed a very shrewd and cunning Captain, but nevertheless a gentleman of truly noble courage; nor were his men inhuman or cruel to any of us.

Now it is impossible to imagine the anxiety we endured at that time, for we knew not which way to turn. From the English, we expected only death or at least slavery; but to remain in this country, and for so many men to live among the Savages in their way for a whole year, looked to us like a long and miserable death. These good Savages, having heard about our misfortune, came and offered to do their best for us, promising to feed us during the Winter, and showing a great deal of sympathy for us. But we could hope for nothing better [248] than they had;

vindrent à nous, & nous offroyent leur poſſible, promettants de nous alimenter durant l'Hyuer, & monſtrants vne grande cõpaſſion. Mais nous ne pouuions pas eſperer mieux, [248] qu'ils n'ont. Auſſi de trouuer autres expedients en vn tel deſert: nous n'en voyons point. Voicy en fin comme Dieu nous pourueut.

also we could see no prospect of finding any other expedients in such a desert. Now see how God provided for us.

CHAPITRE XXIX. [i.e., xxvii.]

LES EXPEDIENTS TROUUEZ POUR REUENIR EN FRANCE, & COMME TRENTE DE NOS GENS Y ARRIUERENT APRES PLUSIEURS TRAUAUX.

LE Capitaine Anglois appellé Samuel Argal, & ſon Lieutenant, dit Guillaume Turnel, commencerent à traicter de noſtre retour ſelon leur promeſſe auec noſtre Capitaine la Sauſſaye. Les Anglois offroyent des conditions bien iniques, mais pour le faire court, la concluſion fut qu'vne [249] chaloupe nous reſtant de deux, q̃ nous en auions, ils nous en l'aiſſeroyent vne, & qu'auec icelle nous allaſſions où Dieu nous conduiroit. Le Capitaine Anglois, cauteleux qu'il eſt; voulut auoir vn eſcrit, ſigné de la main de la Sauſſaye, par lequel il teſmoignaſt, que c'eſtoit de ſon choix, que ce parti auoit eſté prins.

Ceſte concluſion ouye, le P. Biard s'en alla trouuer ledit Capitaine, & luy repreſenta, qu'ils reſtoyent trente perſonnes, & qu'il eſtoit impoſſible que tant de gens peuſſent eſtre entaſſez dans vn ſi petit vaiſſeau, tant s'en faut qu'ils peuſſent dans iceluy faire cent cinquante lieües, & trauerſer des bayes de dix & douze lieuës, comme il leur conuenoit faire, auant que trouuer aucũ nauire François, auquel ils ſe peuſſent refugier: que cela eſtoit manifeſtement [250] nous ietter à la mort, & au deſeſpoir. L'Anglois reſpondit, q̃ la Sauſſaye ne le croyoit pas ainſi: mais que ſi on vouloit deſcharger ladicte chaloupe, qu'il en ouuriroit bien vn moyen: qu'il conduiroit à la Virginie les ar-

CHAPTER XXIX. [i.e., xxvii.]

THE MEANS WHICH WERE FOUND TO RETURN TO FRANCE, AND HOW THIRTY OF OUR PEOPLE ARRIVED THERE AFTER MANY TRIALS.

THE English Captain, whose name was Samuel Argal, and his Lieutenant, William Turnel,[3] began, as they had promised, to treat with our Captain la Saussaye about our return. The English offered some very unfair conditions, but to make the story short, the conclusion was that as one [249] boat remained to us of the two we had had, they would leave it for us, and with it we could go where God directed us. The English Captain, crafty as he was, wished to have a written acknowledgement signed by la Saussaye, in which he should testify that it was by his own choice that this course had been taken.

When this decision was heard, Father Biard went to see the Captain, and represented to him that there remained thirty persons, and that it was not possible for so many people to crowd into so small a vessel, and still less possible that they could therein make one hundred and fifty leagues, and cross bays of ten and twelve leagues, which would be necessary before they found any French ship in which they could take refuge: that such a thing was plainly [250] throwing ourselves into the jaws of death and of despair. The Englishman answered that la Saussaye did not think so, but if they wished to lighten the said boat he would find a means of doing so; that he would take

tifants qui voudroyent y venir ſous promeſſe, qu'on ne les forceroit point en leur Religion, & que, apres vn an de ſeruice, on les feroit repaſſer en France. Trois accepterent ceſte offre.

Pareillement le ſieur de la Mote dés le commencement auoit conſenti de s'en aller à la Virginie auec ledit Capitaine Anglois, qui l'honnoroit beaucoup, parce qu'il l'auoit trouué l'eſpée au poing, & voyoit en luy pluſieurs autres bõnes qualitez, ce qui profitoit de beaucoup à toute noſtre troupe. On luy auoit auſſi permis de mener auec ſoy aucuns, qui de meſme [251] ſeroyent aſſeurez ſous ſa faueur. Le Capitaine Flory ſe reſolut pareillement de tenter la meſme fortune, parce qu'on luy donnoit eſperance qu'il y pourroit recouurer ſon nauire. Le P. Biard pria, que quatre qu'ils eſtoyent, ſçauoir eſt deux Ieſuites, & deux autres fuſſent portez au Iſles de Pencoit, & que là on les recommandaſt aux peſcheurs Anglois, qui y ſont d'ordinaire, à celle fin que par leur moyen ils peuſſent repaſſer en France, ce que le Capitaine Anglois luy octroya fort volontiers.

En ceſte façon la chaloupe ſe trouua conpetemment deſchargée, & toute noſtre troupe fut diuisée en trois egales bandes: Car quinze eſtoyent auec la Pilote: quinze reſtoyent auec les Anglois; & quinze entroyent dans la chaloupe accordée. De ces quinze [252] le P. Enemond Maſsé en eſtoit l'vn, car le choix ayant eſté baillé à la troupe de ceux, qui deuoyent entrer dans la chaloupe à ce qu'ils peuſſent eſlire de tous les trois Ieſuites celuy qu'ils aimeroient mieux pour leur faire compagnie; ce fut luy, qu'ils agreerent le plus.

Ceſte chaloupe donc fut deliurée entre les mains

to Virginia the workmen who wished to go there, under promise that they would not force them in the matter of Religion, and that, after one year of service, they would send them back to France. Three accepted this offer.

Sieur de la Mote likewise had from the first consented to go to Virginia with the English Captain, who honored him greatly, because he had found him sword in hand, and saw in him many other good qualities, which proved a great advantage to all our company. He was, moreover, permitted to take with him some who were [251] to enjoy the same favor as he did. Captain Flory also decided to try the same fortune, because he was encouraged to hope that he might thus recover his ship. Father Biard begged that four of them, namely two Jesuits and two others, might be taken to the Pencoit Islands and recommended to the English fishermen, who are usually there, that they might, with their help, return to France. This the English Captain granted very willingly.

Thus the boat was sufficiently lightened, and our whole company was arranged in three equal divisions; for fifteen were with the Pilot, fifteen with the English, and fifteen had embarked in the boat left to them. Of this fifteen, [252] Father Enemond Massé was one, for, it having been granted to the company who were to go in that boat to choose the one of the three Jesuits whom they preferred to accompany them, it was he whom they favored the most.

This boat was then given in charge of la Saussaye, and of Father Enemond Massé, Jesuit, whom the English Captain highly honored. He delivered it over to them with a small supply of food, and other provisions. But our poor men were in great trouble

de la Sauffaye, & dudit P. Enemond Maſsé, Ieſuite, que le Capitaine Anglois hõnora beaucoup. Il la liura quelque peu amonitionnée de viures, & autres prouiſions. Mais nos pauures gens furent bien en peine, quand il la fallut conduire: car ils n'eſtoyent pour tout, que deux, ou trois mariniers, & iceux n'auoyent ny carte, ny cognoiſſance des lieux. En ceſte deſtreſſe Dieu les ſecourut fort à poinct: car le Pilote, qui auoit mis ſes gens en [253] feurté, deſireux de ſçauoir en quel eſtat eſtoit le reſte de la troupe, ſe deſguiſa en Sauuage & s'en vint eſpier ſur les lieux. L'Ange de Dieu le conduiſit par le bon endroit; car il rencontra tout à propos ceſte chaloupe, qui s'en alloit, & ne ſçauoit comment ceſte bonne fortune parut de ſi bon augure aux rencontres, qu'ils s'aſſeurerent dés lors, que Dieu leur vouloit faire miſericorde, meſmes que pour ſurcroit de grace, ils firent vne fort belle peſche de gros Aumars ou Canchres de mer, & les Sauuages leur donnerent liberalement force oyſeaux, & poiſſons, & de tout ce qu'ils auoyent auec grande ſignification de compaſſion.

En ceſte façõ ils ſe vindrẽt ioindre à la chaloupe des Matelots, & de compagnie gagnerent l'Iſle de Menano. C'eſt'Iſle eſt à l'emboucheure [254] de la Baye Françoiſe, & d'icelle iuſques à l'Iſle Longue, où falloit qu'ils trauerſaſſent dix lieües de pleine mer fort faſcheuſes à cauſe des grandes marées, qui y courent, & bouillent: & de mal'heur, mauuais temps les retint icy huict, ou neuf iours. Leurs maux & apprehenſions les firent recourir à Dieu par vœus, & prieres, qui furent exaucées, comme il parut par le beau temps qui vint ſelon leur ſouhait: à la faueur duquel

when they had to sail their vessel; for in all, there were only two or three sailors, and these had neither map nor knowledge of the country. In this distress God sent them relief in the very nick of time; for the Pilot, who had placed his men in [253] security, anxious to know how the rest of the company were faring, disguised himself as a Savage and went spying about the place. The Angel of God guided him through the right path, for he very opportunely encountered this boat, which was sailing off with no knowledge of navigation. This good luck seemed such a favorable omen to those in the boat, that they were sure from that time on that God would be merciful to them; and, as a superabundance of grace, they had great success in catching large Lobsters or Sea crabs, and the Savages generously gave them quantities of birds and fish and all other things they had, with great exhibitions of sympathy.

Thus they fell in with the boat containing the Sailors, and in their company reached the Island of Menano. This Island is at the entrance [254] to French Bay, and thence they went as far as Long Island; in this passage they had to cross ten leagues of a very angry sea caused by the strong and violent currents which flow between, and unfortunately, bad weather kept them there eight or nine days. Their sorrows and apprehensions made them have recourse to God with vows and prayers, which were heard, as was evident from the beautiful weather which followed, according to their wish, and by means of which they reached Long Island. Here, in order to keep their promise, they planted a Cross, celebrated Holy Mass, and marched in procession. Here also God had prepared a storehouse; for they found in this place a good pile

ils paruindrent à l'Iſle Longue, où pour tenir leur promeſſe ils planterent vne Croix, celebrerent la Saincte Meſſe, & firent vne proceſſiõ. Là auſſi Dieu leur auoit preparé vn magaſin: car ils y trouuerent vn bon monceau de ſel, que le ſieur de Biencourt y auoit autrefois delaiſsé, & pour l'employer ils firent vne fort bonne, & heureuſe peſche. Ainſi prouiſionnez [255] ils paſſerẽt au Cap Forchu, auquel lieu ils trouuerent le Sagamo Louys Membertou, qui fit grand accueil au P. Enemond Maſsé, & le vouloit retenir à toute force. Mais ledit Pere s'excuſa ſur la neceſſité de ne point delaiſſer ſa compagnie. Le Sauuage leur fit à treſtous Tabagie d'vn Orignac, ce qui leur fit grand bien, & en doublerent plus ioyeuſement deſpuis le Cap de Sable. Eſtants ja proches du Port au Mouton, ils eurent au deuant d'eux quatre chaloupes de Sauuages, qui reuenoyent de la trocque. C'eſtoit Roland, & autres Sagamos, qui auſſi toſt recogneurent ledit P. Enemond, & luy firent leurs liberalitez bien grandes certes: demie Galette de pain à chacun des cõpagnons, & vne entiere à luy. C'eſtoit le monde renuerſé, les Sauuages fourniſſoyent du pain, aux [256] François gratuitement. Ce pain ſembloit de la Manne à nos tribulez: car de trois ſepmaines ils n'en auoyent mangé. Et pour le comble de ſouhait, les Sauuages leur dirent, que non guieres loin de là y auoit deux nauires Frãçois, l'vn à Sezambre, & l'autre à Paſſepec. Ce qui fit diligenter nos Pelerins à ce qu'ils ne les perdiſſent.

Ces deux nauires eſtoyent Maloüins, l'vn appartenant au Ieune Dupont, duquel nous auons ſouuent parlé cy deuant, d'enuiron cinquante tonneaux ſeulement: le Capitaine Vible Bullot commandoit à l'autre,

of salt, which sieur de Biencourt had previously left there, and to find use for it they caught a fine lot of fish. Thus provisioned, [255] they passed on to Cape Forchu, where they found the Sagamore, Louys Membertou, who gave Father Enemond Massé a hearty welcome and tried by all means to keep him there. But the Father excused himself, giving as his reason the necessity of remaining with his company. The Savage made Tabagie for them all with Moose Meat, which was a great blessing to them, and then they doubled Cape Sable more cheerfully. When they were in the neighborhood of Port au Mouton, they saw before them four boats filled with Savages, who were returning from the trading station. It was Roland and other Sagamores, who immediately recognized Father Enemond, and showed him a generosity truly wonderful; namely, by giving half a Sea Biscuit to each of his companions, and a whole one to him. Behold the world turned upside down, the Savages freely furnishing bread to the [256] French. This bread seemed like Manna to our afflicted (Frenchmen), for they had tasted none for three weeks. And to complete the fulfillment of their wish, the Savages told them that not far from there were two French ships, one at Sezambre and the other at Passepec. This caused our Pilgrims to hasten, that they might not fail to see them.

These two ships were from Saint Malo, one belonging to Dupont the Younger, whom we have frequently mentioned before, this ship being only about fifty tons burthen; Captain Vible Bullot commanded the other, of a hundred tons, and (a good augury) called the "Sauveur." Each of these two took its half of the whole band, but those in the smaller vessel suffered

qui eſtoit de cent tonneaux, & (de bon augure) s'apelloit le Sauueur. Chacun de ces deux print ſa moitié de toute la troupe, mais ceux du petit vaiſſeau patirent beaucoup: car tout leur defailloit : place, viures, eau: & furent horriblement agitez de [257] tempeſtes & contrarieté de vents: noſtre meſchef neantmoins arriua proſperemẽt pour ce vaiſſeau, parce qu'il auoit perdu beaucoup de ſes gens, & à peine s'en fut-ils peu reuenir ſans ce rencontre, & nouueau renfort de nos desbandez.

Au grand vaiſſeau, appellé *le Sauueur*, on fut mieux, meſmes que les Matelots furent ſi charitables, que de leur propre gré ils retrancherent leur ordinaire, & quitterent pluſieurs bonnes places pour accommoder leurs hoſtes. Le P. Enemond Maſsé fut retiré en ceſtuy-cy, & le Pilote Alain Yeon luy fit beaucoup de charitez. Ils furent accueillis pareillement de tempeſtes, & experimenterent eſtre vray, ce qu'on dit du feu S. Elme, où Freres conſolants, que quand ils apparoiſſent deux à la fois, c'eſt bon ſigne. Car deux apparurẽt [258] vn quart d'heure ſur leurs Antemnes, & bien toſt apres les bourraſques & furies de mer s'accoiferent.

Tous les deux nauires arriuerent en ſauueté à S. Malo, quaſi en meſme temps quoy que le Sauueur fuſt parti douze iours plus tard. La ioye, qu'ils receurent vous la pouuez eſtimer, repaſſant par la memoire les dangers dont ils ſe voyoyent eſchappez. Le P. Enemond Maſsé, & toute la troupe ſe loüent beaucoup de l'humanité & bon accueil, qu'ils receurent en ladicte ville de Sainct Malo, de mon Seigneur l'Eueſque, de Monſieur le Gouuerneur, de MM. les Magiſtrats, Marchands, & generalement de tous.

a great deal, being in need of everything, room, food, and water, and being horribly shaken up by [257] tempests and adverse winds; our disaster, however, happened very opportunely for this vessel, because it had lost many of its crew, and could scarcely have returned without this chance meeting and fresh reinforcement afforded by our wanderers.

In the larger vessel, called *the Sauveur*, they fared better, as the Sailors were so kind-hearted that, of their own free will, they stinted themselves of their rations, and left several good places for the accommodation of their guests. Father Enemond Massé had taken refuge in this one; and the Pilot, Alain Yeon, showed him great kindness. They were likewise assailed by tempests, and experienced the truth of the saying about St. Elmo's fire, or the consoling Brothers,—that when two appear at once, it is a good omen. For two appeared [258] for a quarter of an hour upon the Lateen Sailyard, and soon after, the fury of the tempest and the sea abated.

Both ships arrived safe at St. Malo almost at the same time, although the "Sauveur" had departed twelve days later. You may imagine their joy in recalling to memory the dangers from which they had escaped. Father Enemond Massé and the whole company greatly praised the kindness and welcome they received in the city of Saint Malo, from my Lord the Bishop, from the Governor, the Magistrates, Merchants, and all the citizens in general.

CHAPITRE XXX. [i.e., xxviii.]

[259] LE VOYAGE DE LA VIRGINIE; & LE RETOUR EN LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

DIEV ſoit beny. Voyla ja les deux tiers de noſtre troupe reconduits en France ſains & ſauues parmi leurs parents, & amis, qui les oyent conter leurs grandes auantures. Ores conſequemment vous deſirez ſçauoir que deuiendra l'autre tiers, qui eſt encores demeuré entre les Anglois. Certes bien plus longue, & plus variable fortune les attend, & tous n'en ſortiront pas bagues ſauues.

Les Anglois auoyent trois vaiſſeaux, ſçauoir eſt le leur, auec lequel ils nous auoyent prins, de cent trente tonneaux. Le noſtre, qu'ils auoyent ſaiſi de cent tonneaux, [260] & vne barque de douze tonneaux, laquelle pareillement ils tenoyẽt de nous, & ne la nous auoyent point voulu quitter, pour fournir à noſtre retour. Ils remplirent ces trois vaiſſeaux de leurs gens, & nous partagerent entre eux. Le ſieur de la Mote, le Capitaine Flory, & le reſte d'vne moitié faiſant en tout huict perſonnes, furent logez en la Capitaneſſe, & les autres en nombre de ſept, demeurerent dans le nauire captif, duquel le Lieutenant Turnel eſtoit faict Capitaine.

Or pour commencement de mal-heur, on ne conduiſit point les Ieſuites aux Iſles de Peucoit, ſelon la promeſſe, ains on les mena droit à la Virginie auec le reſte de la troupe, laquelle on conſoloit par belles

CHAPTER XXX. [i.e., xxviii.]

[259] THE VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA; AND THE RETURN TO NEW FRANCE.

GOD be praised. Here were now two-thirds of our company conducted back to France, safe and sound, among their friends and kindred, who listen to them as they relate the stories of their wonderful adventures. Consequently you will wish to know what became of the other third, who remained behind in the hands of the English. In truth, a longer and more varied fate awaits them, and all will not emerge therefrom unharmed.

The English had three vessels; namely, their own, with which they had captured us, of a hundred and thirty tons; ours, which they had seized, of a hundred tons; [260] and a barque of twelve tons, which they had likewise taken from us, and would not give back to be used for our return. They filled these three vessels with their people, and distributed us among them. Sieur de la Motte, Captain Flory, and half of the rest, making in all eight persons, were placed in the "Capitanesse," and the others, seven in number, remained in the captured ship, of which Lieutenant Turnel was made Captain.

Now as the beginning of their ill luck, the Jesuits were not taken to the Peucoit Islands, according to promise, but were taken straight to Virginia with the rest of the crowd, who were consoled with bright hopes, inasmuch as (said they) the Marshal of Vir-

eſperances d'autant que (diſoit-on) le Mareſchal de la Virginie, qui a toute charge, [261] & autorité de iuriſdiction, eſtoit grand amy des François, cõme ayant obtenu tous les principaux honneurs par la recommandation de feu Henry le Grand, & ayant eſté ſon ſoldat, & ſon penſionnaire. Cela nous preſchoit on ſouuent.

Mais nos preſcheurs ne prenoyent pas leur texte de l'Euangile. Car ce beau Mareſchal, qui à leur dire auoit le fil, & la trempe ſi Françoiſe, ayant ouy nouuelles de nous, ne parloit que de harts & gibets, & de nous faire pendre treſtous. L'eſpouuante nous en fut donnée, & aucuns en perdirent le repos, ne s'attendants plus qu'à monter ignominieuſement par vne eſchelle, & deualer miſerablement par vne corde. Mais le Capitaine Argal ſe mõſtra genereux à nous defendre: car il reſiſta audit Mareſchal, oppoſant la [262] foy par luy donnée. Et comm'il ſe vid trop foible en ceſte oppoſitiõ; il publia nos commiſſions, & lettres Royaux, dont ie vous ay parlé cy deuant, qu'il auoit ſubtilement enleué des coffres de la Sauſſaye. Et c'eſt par ce moyen que nous auons ſceu qu'il auoit vſé de telle ruſe, car autremẽt nous n'en euſſions peu rien deſcouurir. Le Mareſchal voyant ces autoritez de ſa Majeſté tres-Chreſtienne, & la reſolution du Capitaine, n'oſa paſſer plus outre, ainſi apres quelques iours & quelques autres apprehenſions, on nous fit ſçauoir, que parole nous ſeroit gardée.

Or comment on nous la garderoit, & quel moyen on nous trouueroit de nous renuoyer en France, c'eſtoit vne grande queſtion. Le General, le Mareſchal & tous les Principaux chefs de la Virginie s'aſſem-

ginia,[4] who has full power [261] and authority of jurisdiction, was a great friend of the French, as he had secured all his more important honors through the recommendation of the late Henry the Great, having been his soldier and pensioner. This was preached to us frequently.

But our preachers did not take their text from the Gospels. For this charming Marshal, who had the fibre and character of a Frenchman, as they said, when he heard an account of us, talked about nothing but ropes and gallows, and of having every one of us hanged. We were badly frightened, and some lost their peace of mind, expecting nothing less than to ignominiously walk up a ladder to be let down disgracefully by a rope. But Captain Argal showed great magnanimity in defending us: for he opposed the Marshal, urging the [262] promise given by him. And as he found himself too weak in this opposition, he published our commissions and Royal patents, of which I have spoken before, which he had surreptitiously removed from la Saussaye's trunks. And it was in this way we learned that he had made use of such a trick, for otherwise we should never have found it out. The Marshal, seeing these warrants of his most Christian Majesty, and the determination of the Captain, did not dare go any farther; so, after several days spent in great apprehension, we were informed that their promise would be kept.

Now how they were going to keep it, and what means would be found to send us back to France, was the great question. The General,[5] the Marshal, and all the other Important personages of Virginia assembled in Council. [263] The result and conclusion of their consultation was to act still worse

blerent en Conſeil. [263] Sur icelle le reſultat & concluſion des opinions fut de pis faire que iamais, puis qu'il leur ſembloit d'en auoir le moyen. Car il fut ordonné que le Capitaine Argal auec ſes trois vaiſſeaux retourneroit en la nouuelle France, pilleroit, & raſeroit toutes les fortereſſes, & habitations des François qu'il trouueroit en toute la coſte juſques à Cap Breton: c'eſt à dire iuſques au 46 degré, & demy: (parce qu'ils pretendent à tout tãt de pays: qu'il feroit pendre la Sauſſaye, & tous ceux de ſes gens, leſquels il trouueroit eſtre demeurez dans ces confins; pilleroit de meſme tous les vaiſſeaux, qu'il rencontreroit, trouuant toutesfois moyen aux perſonnes de ſe pouuoir retirer en France: en cas qu'ils ne fiſſent point de reſiſtance; & qu'on nous mettroit nous autres vieux priſonniers en compagnie [264] de ceux à qui en ceſte façon lon feroit grace de la vie. Telle fut la deliberation. Mais Dieu eſtoit par deſſus, & cõme vous orrés, il en diſpoſa autrement, quant à pluſieurs articles.

Selon ceſte concluſion, Argal reprint vn'autrefois la route de la nouuelle France, plus fort que deuãt, car il auoit trois vaiſſeaux, & auec meilleure eſperance: parce que le butin, qu'il auoit faict ſur nous luy accroiſſoit, & la cupidité, & l'eſpoir. Il ne print cependant auec ſoy la moitié de nos gens, ie ne ſcay pourquoy. Dans ſon vaiſſeau eſtoit le Capitaine Flory, & quatre autres; dans celuy du Lieutenant Turnel (qui eſtoit le noſtre captif) les deux Ieſuites, & un garçon.

Le premier lieu où ils tirerent fut S. Sauueur. Car ils s'attendoyẽt d'y trouuer la Sauſſaye: & vn nauire [263 i.e., 265] nouuellement venu. Ils furẽt trompez,

than ever, since it seemed to them they had the power to do so. For it was decreed that Captain Argal, with his three vessels, should return to new France, plunder and demolish all the fortifications and settlements of the French which he should find along the entire coast as far as Cape Breton: namely, to 46 and one half degrees north latitude, (for they lay claim to all this territory: that he was to have la Saussaye hanged, with all those of his men whom he found remaining within these limits; that he should likewise plunder the ships, which he encountered, finding means, however, to allow their people to return to France, in case they showed no resistance; and that we old prisoners should be placed in company [264] with those whose lives had thus been spared. Such was the decision. But God was on high, and, as you will hear, he decreed otherwise in regard to a number of things.

In accordance with this decision, Argal again started for new France, stronger than before, for he had three vessels, and higher expectations; because the booty he had taken from us strengthened both his cupidity and his hopes. However, he did not take with him the half of our people, I know not why. In his vessel were Captain Flory and four others; in that of Lieutenant Turnel, (which was the one captured from us) the two Jesuits and a boy.

They directed their course first to St. Sauveur, for they expected to find la Saussaye and a newly arrived [263 i.e., 265] ship there. They were mistaken, inasmuch as la Saussaye was in France, as has been said. They burned our fortifications and tore down our Crosses, raising another to show they had taken possession of the country, and were the Masters thereof.

d'autant que la Sauſſaye eſtoit en France, ainſi qu'a eſté dit: ils bruſlerent nos fortifications, & abbatirent nos Croix, en dreſſants vne pour marque, qu'ils ſe faiſiſſoyẽt du pays, comme Seigneurs.

Ceſte Croix portoit le nom graué du Roy de la grande Bretaigne. Ils pendirent auſſi vn de leurs hommes, pour cauſe d'vne conſpiration au meſme endroict, où huict iours au parauant ils auoyent abbatu la premiere de nos Croix.

De ſainct Sauueur ils addreſſerent à S. Croix, ancienne habitation du ſieur de Monts, & parce qu'ils auoyent ſceu, que le P. Biard y auoit eſté, Argal vouloit qu'il les y conduiſit, mais ledit Pere ne le voulut point, ce qui le mit entierement en la diſgrace dudit [264 i.e., 266] Argal, & en grand danger de ſa vie. Ce neantmoins Argal roda tant en haut qu'en bas, & rechercha tant tous leurs endroits, les confrontans auec les cartes, qu'il nous auoit prinſes, qu'en fin il la trouua de ſoy-meſme; il en enleua vn bon monceau de ſel, qu'il y trouua, bruſla l'habitation, & deſtruiſit toutes les marques du nõ & droict de France, ainſi qu'il auoit eu commandement.

This Cross had carved upon it the name of the King of great Britain. Also, on account of a conspiracy, they hanged one of their men in the very place where, eight days before, they had torn down the first of our Crosses.

From saint Sauveur they sailed for Ste. Croix, sieur de Monts's old settlement; and, as they knew that Father Biard had been there, Argal wished him to conduct them thither; but the Father would not consent to do so. This caused him to be in complete disgrace with [264 i.e., 266] Argal, and in great danger of his life. Notwithstanding this, Argal wandered about, up and down, and, by dint of searching all places thoroughly and comparing them with the maps which he had taken from us, he at last found the place himself. He took away a good pile of salt, which he found there, burned the settlement, and destroyed all traces of the name and claims of France, as he had been commanded to do.

CHAPITRE XXXII. [i.e., xxix.]

LA PRINSE, & INCENDIE DE PORT ROYAL, DEUX GRANDS DANGERS DU P. BIARD.

LE Capitaine Argal ayant ruiné fainɛte Croix; ne ſçauoit comment addreſſer, & faire voile à Port Royal ſelon la commiſſion qu'il en auoit, d'autant qu'il [265 i.e., 267] doutoit de s'aller engouffrer en ſi dangereuſe plage ſans conducteur bien cognoiſſant des lieux, & par l'exemple frais, qu'il auoit du P. Biard, il n'oſoit attendre qu'aucun François l'y vouluſt cõduire, ou l'y conſeiller ſincerement. A ceſte cauſe il ſe mit en queſte de quelque Sauuage, & fit tant par ſes courſes, embuſches, enqueſtes, & induſtries, qu'il ſurprint le Sagamo, homme tres-experimenté, & entendant au faict du pays; à la conduicte d'iceluy il vint à Port Royal. Or il y euſt eu là ſans doute du mal-heur pour le regard des François, parce que l'Anglois entrant à la Lune, dans le Port comm'il fit, & venãt anchrer à la veuë de l'habitation à plus de deux lieuës loin, ſi les Frãçois euſſent veillé, ils auoyẽt beau moyen ou de ſe preparer au combat, ou de ſe deſbagager: car à [266 i. e., 268] cauſe de la marée, l'Anglois ne fut deuant l'habitation qu'à dix, ou onze heures du iour ſuiuant. Ie ne ſçay ce qu'on fit. Tant y a que l'Anglois mettant pied à terre ne trouua perſonne dans le fort, & vit des ſouliers & des hardes eſparſes. Par ainſi il euſt double ioye en ceſte prinſe: l'vne qu'il ne trouua aucune re-

CHAPTER XXXII. [i.e., xxix.]

THE TAKING AND BURNING OF PORT ROYAL; FATHER BIARD TWICE IN GREAT DANGER.

CAPTAIN Argal, having destroyed sainte Croix, did not know in what direction to sail to reach Port Royal, according to his commission, and hesitated all the more as he [265 i.e., 267] was afraid of being stranded upon such a dangerous coast without a guide who was very familiar with the locality; and, judging from the recent example of Father Biard, he did not dare expect that any Frenchman would consent to guide him, or give him sincere advice in the matter. For this reason, he began to look for a Savage, and by dint of much running about, lying in ambush, inquiring, and skillful maneuvering, he caught the Sagamore, a very experienced man, and well acquainted with the country; under his guidance, he reached Port Royal. Now there was certainly bad luck for the French, as the English entered the Port by Moonlight, and dropped anchor in sight of the settlement, at a distance of more than two leagues; so, if the French had been on their guard, they would have had an excellent opportunity to prepare for a fight, or to run away, for on [266 i.e., 268] account of the tide, the English were not in front of the settlement until ten or eleven o'clock the next day. I do not know what they were doing. At all events, when the English landed, they found no one in the fort, and saw shoes

ſiſtance, ce que iamais il n'euſt penſé; l'autre qu'il rencontra vn aſſez bon butin, à quoy il ne s'attendoit pas.

Ce rencontre de butin non attendu, penſa couſter la vie au P. Biard: voicy comment. Les Anglois ayant ja perdu beaucoup de temps à chercher ſaincte Croix: & deſpuis à attraper vn Sauuage, qui fuſt leur conducteur, le Lieutenãt Turnel eſtoit d'aduis de laiſſer le voyage de Port Royal, & s'en retourner au pluſtoſt à la Virginie, alleguant pour raiſons, que le lieu [267 i.e., 269] eſtoit tres-dangereux, & la ſaiſon par trop auancée (car c'eſtoit la fin d'Octobre,) & qu'au bout de tant de peines, ils n'y auroit point de profit, parce qu'on n'y trouueroit rien, ſinon miſere, & la haine des François, qu'ils s'acquerroyent bien meritoirement par le bruſlement qu'ils y alloyent faire, ſans recompenſe d'aucun emolument. Le Lieutenãt Turnel auoit ouy ces raiſons du P. Biard, auec lequel il prenoit ſouuẽt plaiſir de deuiſer, & les eſtimoit fort valides. Or le Capitaine Argal ayant eu le bõheur d'vne facile entrée, & deſpuis dans Port Royal (ainſi qu'à eſté dit) vn aſſez bon butin, en viures, hardes, & vtenſiles dans l'habitation; il reprochoit à ſon dit Lieutenant, ſon conſeil, & la croyance qu'il auoit eu au Ieſuite: & meſmes pour ceſte cauſe luy faiſoit moindre part de la proye. [268 i.e., 270] Le Lieutenant en eſtoit en grande cholere, & d'autant plus qu'on l'auoit touſiours en reputation d'homme d'eſprit, & de bon conſeil, de quoy il ſe voyoit deçeu à l'occaſion comm'il penſoit, du Ieſuite.

Or il y auoit vn Puritain Anglois, maiſtre du grand nauire plus malin que tous les autres, diſſimulé neantmoins, car ils faiſoit les plus beaux ſemblants du

and clothing all scattered about; so they were doubly pleased by this capture, first, because contrary to all their expectations, they met no resistance; and second, because they found a fair supply of booty, which they were not anticipating.

This unlooked-for capture of booty nearly cost Father Biard his life, in this way. As the English had already lost a great deal of time looking for sainte Croix, and afterward in finding a Savage who might act as their guide, Lieutenant Turnel was of the opinion that it would be better to abandon the voyage to Port Royal, and return as soon as possible to Virginia; giving as his reasons that the place [267 i.e., 269] was very dangerous and the season too far advanced (for it was the end of October); that, after so much trouble, there would be no profit in the end, because they would find nothing there but misery and French hatred, which they would very deservedly draw down upon them by the conflagration they were going to kindle there, without being requited for it by any reward. Lieutenant Turnel had heard these arguments from Father Biard, with whom he often took pleasure in conversing, and considered them very good. Now when Captain Argal had such an easy entry, and afterwards at the settlement of Port Royal (as we have said) found such a quantity of booty in food, clothes and utensils, he reproached his Lieutenant for his advice, and for his confidence in the Jesuits: and on that account gave him a smaller part of the plunder. [268 i.e., 270] The Lieutenant was very angry, and so much the more so, as he had always had the reputation of being a man of intelligence and good judgment, which he had now forfeited, as he thought, on account of the Jesuit.

monde: mais les autres Anglois nous aduertiſſoiẽt de ne no⁹ point fier en luy, d'autant qu'il eſtoit malignement enuenimé contre nous. Ceſtuy-cy donc voyant ſon coup, perſuadoit au Capitaine, & au Lieutenant, leſquels il voyoit eſmeus, d'abandonner à terre le Ieſuite, diſant, qu'il eſtoit eſtoit indigne que les Anglois, luy donnaſſent des viures, puis qu'il les auoit voulu empeſcher d'ẽ auoir, [269 i.e., 271] & mille autres raiſons qu'il alleguoit. Ie ne ſçay qui ſecouruſt tant à propos le Ieſuite en ce danger, que ſa ſimplicité. Car tout de meſme, que s'il euſt eſté bien fauoriſé, & qu'il euſt peu beaucoup enuers ledit Anglois, il ſe mit à genoux deuãt le Capitaine par deux diuerſes fois, & à deux diuerſes occaſions, à celle fin de le flechir à miſericorde enuers les François dudit Port Royal eſgarés par les bois, & pour luy perſuader de leur laiſſer quelques viures, leur chaloupe, & quelqu'autre moyen de paſſer l'Hyuer. Et voyez combien differentes petitions on faiſoit audit Capitaine: car au meſme temps, que le P. Biard le ſupplioit ainſi pour les François, vn François crioit de loin auec outrages, & iniures tres indignes à haute voix, qu'il le falloit maſſacrer. Or Argal (qui eſt d'vn cœur [270 i.e., 272] noble,) voyant ceſte tant ſyncere affection du Ieſuite, & de l'autre coſté ceſte tant beſtiale & enragée inhumanité de ce François, laquelle ne recognoiſſoit ny ſa propre nation, ny biens-faicts, ny Religion, ny eſtoit domtée par l'affliction & verges de Dieu, eſtima que ce luy ſeroit touſiours reproche, & impropere, ſi ſans iugement, & ſans auoir ouy parties, il venoit à delaiſſer pour vne accuſation ſubtile, celuy à qui il auoit donné ſa parole. Et par ainſi reietta tout enſemble, & la ſuaſion de l'Anglois, & la forcenerie du Fran-

Now there was an English Puritan, master of the larger vessel, more malicious than all the others, yet hypocritical, for he made the finest pretensions in the world: but the other Englishmen advised us not to trust him, as he was wickedly prejudiced against us. So this man, seeing his opportunity, persuaded the Captain and Lieutenant, who he saw were aroused, to leave the Jesuit on shore, saying he did not deserve that the English should give him food since he had tried to prevent them from obtaining it, [269 i.e., 271] and offering a thousand other arguments. I know not what rescued the Jesuit so opportunely from this danger, unless it were his simplicity. For just as if he had been highly favored, and had great influence with these English, he dropped upon his knees before the Captain, two different times and upon two different occasions, to move him to pity towards the French of Port Royal who were wandering about through the woods, and to persuade him to leave them some food, their boat, and other means of passing the Winter. And see now what different requests were being made to this Captain: for at the same time that Father Biard was thus petitioning him in behalf of the French, a Frenchman was shouting out from afar, with most scandalous insults and abuse, that he ought to be slain. Now Argal (who has a noble [270 i.e., 272] heart), seeing the so sincere affection of the Jesuit, and, on the other hand, the so brutal and infuriated inhumanity of this Frenchman, who remembered neither his own country, nor kindnesses, nor Religion, nor was crushed by God's afflicting rod, considered that it would always be a reproach and disgrace to him, if, without trial and hearing from both sides, he should cast off, on account of a sly and

çois, d'autant plus appaiſé enuers le Ieſuiſte, que plus il le voyoit attaqué ſans qu'il remarquaſt en luy changement, ou alteration.

Or ledit Capitaine ayant enleué de Port Royal tout ce qui luy ſembla commode, iuſques aux [271 i.e., 273] ais, verroils, ferrures, & cloux; il y mit le feu. Choſe certes bien pitoyable, car dans vn'heure ou deux on vit reduit en cendres le trauail & deſpenſe de pluſieurs années & perſonnes de merite. Et plaiſe à noſtre Seigneur que ce meſme feu aye tellement deſtruit tous les pechés, qui peuuent auoir eſté commis en ceſte place, que iamais ils ne reſuſcitent plus en aucune part, ny ne prouoquent la iuſte & redoutable vengeance de noſtre Dieu. L'Anglois (comme i'ay dit autre part) effaçoit par tout, tous monuments, & indices de la puiſſance Françoiſe : ce qu'il n'oublia pas icy iuſques à faire vſer du pic, & ciſeau ſur vne groſſe & maſſiue pierre, en laquelle eſtoyent entaillés les nõs du ſieur de Monts, & autres Capitaines auec les fleurs de lys. Ce faict, il leua l'anchre pour s'en aller; mais [272 i.e., 274] il fut retenu par le mauuais temps à l'emboucheure du Port trois, ou quatre iours.

Tandis qu'il ſeiournoit icy à l'Anchre, vn François de ceux dudit Port demanda de parlementer: ce qui luy fut accordé. Or entre les bõs affaires, que ce beau parlementateur vint traicter, fut de dire au Capitaine Anglois, qu'il s'eſmerueilloit bien fort, comment il n'auoit pieça deliuré le monde du pernicieux Ieſuite, qui eſtoit en ſes nauires, Si ce n'eſtoit, peut-eſtre que le mal-heur l'y conſeruaſt pour reuancher les François par quelque trahiſon meſchante, que ledit Ieſuite ioüeroit à ſon coup, & occaſion. Car

cunning accusation, him to whom he had given his word. And so he rejected both the persuasions of the Englishman, and the rage of the Frenchman, looking upon the Jesuit all the more favorably as he saw that, however much he was attacked, there was no change or deterioration in his conduct.

Now this Captain, having taken away from Port Royal everything that seemed convenient to him, even to the [271 i.e., 273] boards, bolts, locks, and nails, set the place on fire. A truly pitiable thing, for in an hour or two the work of several worthy people, during a number of years, was reduced to ashes. And may our Lord grant that this same fire has so completely destroyed all sins, which may have been committed in this place, that they may never again arise in any other place, nor ever provoke the just and dreadful vengeance of our God. The English (as I have stated elsewhere) destroyed, everywhere, all monuments and evidences of the dominion of the French; and this they did not forget to do here, even to making use of pick and chisel upon a large and massive stone, on which were cut the names of sieur de Monts and other Captains, with the fleurs-de-lys. This done, they weighed anchor to sail away, but [272 i.e., 274] bad weather detained them three or four days at the mouth of the Harbor.

While they remained anchored here, a Frenchman from among those at the Port asked to confer with them; his request was granted. Now among the nice things which this fine parliamentarian did, was to say to the English Captain that he was very much surprised indeed that he had not already rid the world of the pernicious Jesuit, who was in one of his ships. If he were not despatched, perhaps some ill luck might

c'eſtoit (diſoit-il) vn vray, & naturel Eſpagnol, qui ayant commis pluſieurs forfaicts en France, à cauſe deſquels il en eſtoit fuitif, leur auoit encores donné beaucoup [273 i.e., 275] de ſcandales à Port Royal, & qu'il ne falloit aucunement douter, qu'encores ne fit-il pis aux Anglois. Argal oyant dire, que le P. Biard eſtoit naturel Eſpagnol, ne le pouuoit croire; mais on luy donna ceſt'accuſation par eſcrit, & ſoubſigné de cinq ou ſix: & le preſſoit-on fort à ce qu'il iettaſt en terre à l'abandon ledit P. Biard. Mais tant plus qu'on l'en preſſoit, tant moins l'Anglois y conſentoit, parce que y conſentant il ne pouuoit fuir le deshonneur d'auoir manqué de foy, & de iuſtice; là où le gardant pour la Virginie, il s'attendoit de l'y faire mourir en acquerant loüange de fidelité à ſon office, & de patience à ſupporter. Car en communiquant au Mareſchal ceſte depoſition des François, & adiouſtant par deſſus comme ledit Pere n'auoit voulu monſtrer l'Iſle S. [274 i.e., 276] Croix, & auoit taſché de diuertir les Anglois d'aller à Port Royal; il n'auoit garde deſchapper des mains du Mareſchal, deſquelles à peine l'auoit-on peu arracher, lors meſme, qu'on n'auoit aucune prinſe ſur luy. Ainſi Dieu le voulut ſauuer pour lors, & encores pl⁹ merueilleuſement deſpuis, comme vous orrez. Cependant vous remarquerez ſagement iuſques à quelle rage le malin eſprit agite ceux, qui ſe vendent à luy, & combien il faut eſtre reſerué à croire les delations & detractiõs, puis que le P. Biard auoit veſcu dans Port Royal, & auoit touſiours eſté notoirement recogneu pour ce qu'il eſt, c'eſt à dire bon François naturel, & qui iamais ne fut en Eſpagne ny luy, ny ſon pere, ou mere, ou aucun de ſes parens. Or que

keep him there to take revenge for the French upon the English by some wicked treason, which the Jesuit would be guilty of, in his way and at his opportunity. For he was (said he) a true and native Spaniard, who, having committed several crimes in France, on account of which he was a fugitive from justice, had also been the cause of a great deal [273 i.e., 275] of scandal at Port Royal, and there could not be the slightest doubt that he would do something still worse to the English. Argal, when he heard it said that Father Biard was a native Spaniard, could not believe it; but this charge, made in writing and signed by five or six persons, was handed to him; and they urged him strongly to put on shore and desert Father Biard. But the more they urged him, the less the Englishman would yield to them, because in giving his consent, he could not escape the dishonor of having broken faith and failed in doing justice; whereas, if he kept him until he got to Virginia, he could count upon having him executed there, at the same time receiving praise for his fidelity to his word, and for his patience in bearing with him. For when he would communicate to the Marshal this statement of the French, and add to it that the Father would not consent to guide them to the Island of Ste. [274 i.e., 276] Croix, and had tried to keep the English from going to Port Royal, there would be no danger of his escaping from the hands of the Marshal, from which they had hardly rescued him before, although then they had no claim upon him. Thus God willed that he should be saved that time, and still more wonderfully since then, as you will hear. Meanwhile, you will wisely observe to what madness the evil spirit incites those who sell themselves to him, and how

ce neantmoins vn François ſe ſoit trouué ſi poſſedé par l'eſprit [275 i.e., 277] ſanguinaire, que pour le faire mourir il ſoit venu à impoſturer ſi furieuſement, & receuant le chaſtiment de Dieu n'en aye faict autre profit, que de ſe proſtituer ſi deſeſperement à Sathan, & à calomnie, cela ſurpaſſe toute apprehenſion commune de malice, & à peine peut-on conceuoir, qu'vn homme puiſſe deuenir ſi vendu, & ſi deſeſperement aſſerui à peché.

necessary it is to be cautious in believing slanders and detractions; for Father Biard had lived in Port Royal, and had always been universally recognized for what he is; namely, a good, native-born Frenchman, who had never even been in Spain, neither he, nor his father, nor his mother, nor any of his kindred. Now notwithstanding all this, a Frenchman was found so possessed with the spirit of [275 i.e., 277] bloodshed, that to have him killed he was led to commit such a monstrous act of imposition, and while under the chastisement of God, derived no other advantage therefrom than to sell himself so hopelessly to Satan and to calumny. This exceeds all ordinary conceptions of wickedness, and it is difficult to conceive how a man can be so desperately given up to and enslaved by sin.

CHAPITRE XXXI. [i.e., xxx.]

LE DEPART DE PORT ROYAL, LES DIUERSES AUENTURES DES NAUIRES; & COMME NOUS FUSMES CONTRAINTS DE RELASCHER AUX AÇORES.

LE neufuieſme de Nouembre de ceſte année 1613. les Anglois departirẽt de Port Royal en intention de s'aller rendre à [276 i.e., 278] leur Virginie, & y iouïr du butin l'hyuer ſuiuant. Or dés ce temps le Lieutenant Turnel, ne regardoit plus le P. Biard, que comme vn pendard abominable: il le deteſtoit encores d'auantage, quand il repenſoit au paſsé: car par le paſsé, il auoit faict eſtat de le priſer, & l'aymer pour ſa naïfue ſimplicité, & ouuerte candeur. Mais ayant veu le teſmoignage par eſcrit de tant de François, qui l'aſſeuroyent eſtre naturel Eſpagnol, & meſchant homme, il aimoit mieux croire, que le Ieſuite fuſt menteur, que non pas tant d'autres, qui l'accuſoyent. Par ainſi il haiſſoit d'autant plus irreconciliablement ceſte ſi profonde & impenetrable diſſimulation (comme il penſoit) d'vn Eſpagnol, contrefaiſant le François, laquelle luy, homme reputé pour accort, & bien aduisé, n'auoit ſceu deſcouurir [277 i.e., 279] en tant de temps; ains à laquelle il s'eſtoit laiſsé ſurprendre iuſques à vne familiarité, & amitié grande. Telle eſtoit la cholere du Capitaine Turnel, lequel d'ores en auant i'appelleray abſoluement Capitaine & non plus Lieutenant, parce que nous allons nous ſeparer: eſcoutez comment.

Le ſecond iour apres noſtre depart, veille de S.

CHAPTER XXXI. [i. e., xxx.]

THE DEPARTURE FROM PORT ROYAL; VARIOUS ADVENTURES OF THE SHIPS; AND HOW WE WERE COMPELLED TO STOP AT THE AÇORES.

ON the ninth of November of this year, 1613, the English left Port Royal, intending to go back to [276 i.e., 278] Virginia, and there to enjoy their booty during the following winter. Now from this time on, Lieutenant Turnel only looked upon Father Biard as an abominable rascal: he hated him still more when he thought of the past, for then he had openly shown his esteem and love for him on account of his naïve simplicity and open candor. But having seen the testimony in writing of so many Frenchmen, who assured him that he was a native Spaniard, and a wicked man, he preferred to believe that the Jesuit was a liar, rather than to disbelieve so many others who accused him. Therefore his hatred was all the more irreconcilable against the deep and impenetrable hypocrisy (as he thought) of a Spaniard, pretending to be a Frenchman, which he, reputed to be a man of sagacity and wisdom, had not been able to discover [277 i.e., 279] in so long a time, but had allowed himself to be drawn by it into great familiarity and friendship. Such was the wrath of Captain Turnel, whom I shall hereafter call simply Captain and no longer Lieutenant, because we are going to be separated [from the other ships]; hear in what way.

On the second day after our departure, on the eve

Martin, vn ſi grand orage s'eſleua, qu'il eſcarta nos trois vaiſſeaux en telle façon, que deſpuis ils ne ſe ſont point reueus enſemble; ains ont tiré treſtous bien diuerſes routes.

La barque n'a point comparu deſpuis, & nouuelles aucunes n'en ayant eſté ouyes aucuns ſe doutent qu'elle ſoit perie, auec les ſix Anglois, qui eſtoyent dedans.

La Nau Capitaneſſe, où commendoit Argal, nonobſtãt le contraſte, vint à port heureuſement [278 i.e., 280] à la Virginie dãs trois ſepmaines, ou enuiron. Le Mareſchal (duquel nous vous auons parlé cy deuant) ouyt fort volontiers du Capitaine Argal, tout ce qui s'eſtoit paſsé, & attendoit en bonne deuotion le P. Biard pour luy toſt accourcir les voyages, luy faiſant trouuer au milieu d'vne eſchelle le bout du monde; mais Dieu, maiſtre de la vie, & des puiſſances diſpoſe à ſon bon plaiſir de ſes creatures, & non à la fantaſie du bras humain; prenant plaiſir au tiltre, que luy donne ſon Pſalmiſte, d'eſtre le Seigneur, *qui deliure le pauure des mains des plus forts, & le deſtitué, de la puiſſance de ceux, qui le pillent*, comme ie m'en vais vous monſtrer, qu'il a faict.

Les deux Ieſuites, & vn garçon François eſtoyent dans le nauire captif, ſur lequel auoit eſté commis le Capitaine Turnel; ce nauire [279 i.e., 281] ſeparé d'auec Argal par la tẽpeſte en fut tant inceſſamment pourſuiuy ſeize iours durant, que le Capitaine perdant eſperãce de pouuoir aborder la Virginie, appella tous ſes gents, & mit en deliberation, qu'eſt-ce qu'il faudroit faire pour ſauuer leurs vies. Car de combattre les orages plus long temps pour ne ſe pas eſloigner de ladicte Virginie, il n'y auoit point d'ap-

of St. Martin, so terrible a storm arose that our three vessels were scattered so effectually that they never came together afterwards, but all sailed away in different directions.

The barque was never seen again, and, no news of it having been heard, no one doubts that it was lost with the six Englishmen who were on board.

The Ship "Capitanesse," which Argal commanded, notwithstanding its hindrances, safely reached port [278 i.e., 280] in Virginia, after three weeks or thereabout. The Marshal (of whom we have spoken above) listened very willingly to Captain Argal as he related all that had taken place, and in a proper spirit of devotion awaited Father Biard, to shorten for him his voyages and to make him find the end of the world from the middle of a ladder; but God, master of life and all-powerful, disposes of his creatures according to his own good pleasure, and not according to the whims of human authority; taking pleasure in the title given him by the Psalmist, of being the Lord, *Who delivers the poor from the hands of the strong, and the destitute from the power of those who strip him*, as I am going on to show you he did.

The two Jesuits and a French boy were in the captured ship which had been committed to the care of Captain Turnel; this ship, [279 i.e., 281] separated from Argal by the tempest, was so incessantly followed by it for sixteen days, that the Captain, losing hope of being able to reach Virginia, called together all his people, and took counsel with them upon the best way to save their lives. For there seemed to be no probability that they would longer be able to combat the storms so as to keep near Virginia, because they had in the ships the horses taken from Port Royal,

parence, parce que on auoit dans le nauire des cheuaux prins à Port Royal, qui les ruinoyent d'eau tant ils en beuuoyent, les tourbillons rompoyẽt tant de voiles, auſuents, & cordages, qu'il n'y auoit plus de quoy les refaire, & les viures eſtoyent bien bas, hors la mouluë ſeulement, de laquelle y auoit aſſez; mais de pain on n'en auoit eu, par l'eſpace de trois mois, que deux onces chaſque iour pour teſte, [280 i.e., 282] bien rarement trois: & ſi il en reſtoit fort peu. En ceſte deliberation les mariniers furẽt d'aduis qu'il falloit ſouſtenir encores quelques iours pour leur hõneur. Et (approbation de leur conſeil) le bon temps leur arriua au iour ſuiuant, & les conduiſit ſi auant qu'ils ne s'eſtimoyent pas eſtre à plus de vingt & cinq lieuës de leur port.

Pour en confeſſer la franche verité, les Ieſuites ne prioyent point pour ce bon temps, car ils ſçauoyent aſſez où c'eſt qu'il les conuoyoit. Or Dieu, croy-ie, ayãt pitié d'eux, ſuſcita vn gaillard, & fougueux ſuroüeſt, qui vint donner droict en face à nos Anglois, & les contraigniſt de mettre le nauire en cappe (comme l'on dit) de plier toutes les voiles, & de penſer à leur conſcience.

Le Capitaine voyant ceſte rage [281 i.e., 283] de vents, & de vagues ne voulut plus s'opiniaſtrer, ains conclud, qu'il falloit relaſcher aux Açores à 7. cents lieuës de là, pour s'y pouruoir de leurs neceſſitez, & attendre le bon temps. Il fit tourner le cap pour adreſſer là, & auſſi toſt apres on tua les cheuaux qui nous auoyent gaſté & conſumé noſtr'eau, de maniere qu'elle eſtoit toute infecte, & puante, & encores la donnoit on en bien petite meſure. Mais la chair de cheual eſtoit fort bonne, au gouſt des Ieſuites.

Or durant ces furieuſes, & horrib[l]es tempeſtes,

and these spoiled as much of the water as they drank; the winds had so torn their sails and broken their gunwales and ropes, that they had nothing left with which to repair them; the stock of food was low, except the codfish, of which they had enough; but as to bread, they had had, during three months, only two ounces a day to each person, [280 i.e., 282] very rarely three; and so there remained but little of it. In this consultation, the sailors were of the opinion that their honor demanded them to hold out some days longer. And (in approval of their decision) fair weather came the next day, and bore them so far ahead that they judged they were no more than twenty-five leagues from their port.

To tell the honest truth, the Jesuits did not pray for this fair weather, knowing very well to what fate it was carrying them. Now God, taking pity on them, as I believe, aroused a lively and vigorous south-wester, which blew right in the Englishmen's teeth, and forced them to lie to (as the saying is), to reef the sails, and to examine their consciences.

The Captain, seeing this fury [281 i.e., 283] of the winds and waves, thought it well not to persist in his course, but decided to make for the Açores, 7 hundred leagues from there, to provide for their necessities and to wait for good weather. He turned the prow in that direction, and immediately thereafter they killed the horses which had been spoiling and drinking the water, so that it was all infected and had a bad smell; and even this was measured out to us in small quantities. But the horseflesh was very good, according to the taste of the Jesuits.

Now during these furious and horrible tempests, when all had good reason to look into their con-

comme tous auoyent bien occaſion de penſer à leur conſcience, Dieu particulierement diſpoſoit le Capitaine. De maniere, qu'vne fois bien repentant, il appella le P. Biard, & luy tint ces diſcours, que ie vais inferer quaſi de mot à mot: car ce [282 i.e., 284] Capitaine parloit bon François, & beaucoup d'autres lãgues vulgaires, outre le Latin & le Grec, qu'il entendoit bien, homme de grand eſprit, & qui a bien eſtudié: P. Biard, (diſoit-il) Dieu eſt courroucé contre nous, ie le voy biẽ; il eſt courroucé contre nous, di-je, mais non pas contre vous; contre nous, parce que nous vous sõmes allés faire la guerre, ſans la vous premierement denõcer, ce qu'eſt contre le droict des gens. Mais ie proteſte, que ç'a eſté contre mon aduis, & mon gré. Ie n'euſſe ſceu qu'y faire, il me falloit ſuiure, i'eſtois ſeruiteur. Ainſi ie vous dy, que ie voy biẽ que Dieu eſt courroucé contre nous, mais non pas contre vous, ains à l'occaſion de vous: car vous ne faictes que patir. Le Capitaine s'arreſtãt icy, vo⁹ pouués eſtimer ſi le Ieſuite manqua de reſpõdre à propos. Le Capitaine, [283 i.e., 285] le prit d'vn autre endroit, mais, P. Biard (dit-il) c'eſt choſe eſtrange, que vos François de Port Royal vous accuſent ainſi. Le Pere reſpondit, Mais mõſieur, m'aués-vous iamais ouy meſdire d'eux? Nenny, dit-il; ains i'ay fort bien remarqué que quand on meſdiſoit d'eux, & deuant le Capitaine Argal, & deuant moy, touſiours vous les aués defendus, i'en ſuis bon teſmoin. Monſieur (dit le Pere) prenez argument de là, & iugés, qui a Dieu, & la verité de ſon coſté; ou les meſdiſants, ou bien les charitables. Ie l'entends bien, dit le Capitaine: mais, Pere Biard, la charité ne vous a elle point fait mentir, quãd vous me diſiez, que

sciences, God especially inclined the Captain to do so, in such a manner, that once, when he was feeling very repentant, he called Father Biard and held with him the following conversation, which I here insert almost word for word: for this [282 i.e., 284] Captain spoke good French, and many other common languages, besides Latin and Greek, which he understood very well; he was a man of great intelligence and a thorough student. "Father Biard" (said he) "God is angry at us, I see it clearly; he is angry at us, I say, but not at you; angry at us, because we went to make war upon you without first giving you notice, which is contrary to the rights of nations. But I protest that it was contrary to my advice, and my inclination. I did not know what to do, I had to follow, I was merely a servant. But I tell you I see very clearly that God's wrath is kindled against us, but not against you, although on your account: for you do nothing but suffer." The Captain pausing here, you may judge whether or not the Jesuit failed to make a suitable answer. The Captain [283 i.e., 285] took up another phase of the question. "But, Father Biard" (says he) "it is strange that your countrymen from Port Royal should accuse you thus." The Father answers, "But, Sir, have you ever heard me slander them?" "By no means," he says, "but I have clearly observed that when evil things are said of them, both before Captain Argal and before me, you have always defended them, of which I am a good witness." "Sir" (the Father says) "draw your own conclusions from that, and judge which have God and truth on their side, whether the slanderers, or the charitable." "I know that very well," says the Captain, "but, Father Biard, did not charity make you

nous ne trouuerions que miſere à Port Royal? Le Pere repartit, Pardonnez moy, monſieur, vous priant de vous ſouuenir, que ie ne vous ay dit [284 i.e., 286] ſinon que moy eſtant là, ie n'y auois veu, & trouué que miſere. Cela ſeroit bon, dit le Capitaine, ſi vous n'eſtiés Eſpagnol, comme l'on dit que vous eſtes, car l'eſtãt, ce que vous deſirés tant de bien aux Frãçois n'eſt pas pour amour que vous leur portés, ains pour haine des Anglois. A cecy le Pere Biard reſpondit fort au long: mais il ne luy peut iamais defraciner ceſt'opinion, diſant, qu'il n'eſtoit point croyable, que cinq, ou ſix François conſtitués en affliction euſſent voulu ſigner vne fauſſe accuſation contre vn leur concitoyen Preſtre: n'y ayants autre profit que de le faire perdre, & par ce moyen ſatis-faire à leur maudite paſſion.

Ie vous ay faict ce recit à fin que la ſuaue diſpoſition de la diuine prouidence ſoit recogneuë, & que vous entendiez, cõme Dieu [285 i.e., 287] alloit preparant peu à peu le cœur du Capitaine. Car il ſe trouua biẽ perplex, & luy & ſes gens, quand ils ſe virent pres des Açores. La cauſe en eſtoit, parce que ces Iſles ſont habitées des Portugais Catholiques; par ainſi les Anglois conſideroyent, que venants à y anchrer, il faudroit ſouffrir la viſite du nauire. Que ſi en la viſite on deſcouuroit les Ieſuites que c'eſtoit faict d'eux, parce qu'on deliureroit leſdits Ieſuites, comme Catholiques: & qu'eux ſeroyent pendus, ou pour le moins mis à la cadene, comme voleurs de Preſtres.

Le remede à ce mal eſtoit facile, faiſant faire auſdits Ieſuites vn ſaut dans la mer. Neantmoins comme ie vous ay monſtré, la crainte de Dieu s'eſ-

lie, when you told me we should find nothing but misery at Port Royal?" "Pardon me," answers the Father, "I beg you to remember that I told you only [284 i.e., 286] that when I was there, I saw and found nothing but misery." "That would be all right," says the Captain, "if you were not a Spaniard, as they say you are; for, being one, the great good which you desire for the French is not on account of the love you bear them, but on account of your hatred of the English." Upon this Father Biard entered into a long explanation; but he could never eradicate this opinion from the Captain's mind, who said it was not credible that five or six Frenchmen, surrounded by afflictions, would have consented to sign a false accusation against a Priest, one of their own fellow-citizens, deriving no other profit therefrom than to destroy him, and in this way to satisfy their evil passions.

I have narrated this to you that the kindly dispositions of providence may be recognized, and that you may understand how God [285 i.e., 287] proceeded, little by little, to prepare the heart of the Captain. For both he and his crew were greatly perplexed, when they found themselves near the Açores. The reason for this was, that these Islands are inhabited by Catholic Portuguese, so the English judged that, in anchoring there, they would have to allow the ship to be visited; and if in this visit the priests were discovered, it would be all over with them, for the Jesuits, as Catholics, would be liberated, and they [the English] would be hanged, or at least condemned to the chain and ball, as robbers of Priests.

The remedy for this evil was an easy one; namely, to make the Jesuits take a leap into the sea. Never-

toit reſueillée, qui combattoit pour eux. Noſtre Seigneur en fin, qui les [286 i.e., 288] protegeoit aux prieres de ſa glorieuſe Mere, fit que le Capitaine ſe reſolut de les cacher au fonds du nauire, eſperant que cela ſuffiroit pour ſeurté: comme il ſuffit auſſi, mais la bõne foy des Ieſuites y aydant, ainſi que vous entendrés tout à ceſt'heure.

theless, as I have shown you, the fear of God was awakened, and this contended for them. Our Lord indeed who [286 i.e., 288] protected them through the prayers of his glorious Mother, caused the Captain to decide to conceal them in the hold of the ship, hoping this would suffice for their security, as it did; but the good faith of the Jesuits assisted therein, as you will soon hear.

CHAPITRE XXXII. [i.e., xxxi.]

COMME LE NAUIRE FUT VISITÉ AUX AÇORES, & LA BONNE FOY, QUE LES IESUITES GARDERENT AUX ANGLOIS.

LA main de Dieu eſtoit euidemment ſur les Ieſuites pour les proteger, ainſi que vous auez peu apperceuoir par cy deuant: Et fut manifeſte en vn autre danger, qu'ils paſſerent; que nous ne racontons pas icy, pour n'eſtre longs, auquel neantmoins [287 i.e., 289] ils confeſſent d'auoir eu plus de peur, qu'en beaucoup d'autres, & non ſans cauſe. Ceſte protection diuine ſe monſtra encores clairement en ce quell'oſta l'apprehenſion du peril au Capitaine. Car s'il euſt preueu les grands dangers qu'il courut puis apres, ie ne ſcay s'il euſt eſté aſſez conſcientieux, ou ſes gens pour ne ſe point reſoudre au meurtre, auant que de tomber aux perplexités, auſquelles ils furent reduits, en ceſte façon.

Ils arriuerent à l'Iſle de Faeal, qui eſt vne des Açores, & ne ſe penſoyent à leur arriuée, que d'anchrer aupres de la ville, d'enuoyer leur batteau pour ſe charger d'eau, de laquelle ils auoyent principalement beſoin, & achepter quelque peu de biſcuit, & autres neceſſitez plus preſſantes. En ceſte façon il eſtoit fort facile [288 i.e., 290] de cacher les Ieſuites, parce qu'on ne viſite gueres, que fort legerement ceux qui ſont loin de terre, & puis la viſite paſſee: tout le peril eſt paſſé. Ceſte conſideration fit reſoudre tant facilemẽt le Capitaine à ne pas vſer de

CHAPTER XXXII. [i.e., xxxi.]

HOW THE SHIP WAS VISITED AT THE AÇORES, AND HOW THE JESUITS KEPT THEIR PROMISE TO THE ENGLISH.

GOD'S hand was evidently stretched over the Jesuits for their protection, as you have been able to see heretofore. It was also manifest in another danger through which they passed, and which we do not relate here, lest we be tedious, in which, nevertheless, [287 i.e., 289] they confess to have felt more fear than in many others, and not without cause. This divine protection was even more evident in removing all apprehensions of danger from the Captain. For if he had foreseen the great risks which he ran afterwards, I am not sure that he or his crew would have been so conscientious as not to have resolved upon murder, before falling into the perplexities to which they were in this way reduced.

They came to the Island of Faeal, one of the Açores, where, upon their arrival, they intended only to anchor near the town, to send their boat for a supply of water, which they needed most, and to buy a few biscuit and other very necessary articles. In this way it was quite easy [288 i.e., 290] to conceal the Jesuits; for those vessels which are some distance from the land are only slightly visited, and, this visit over, all danger is past. This was the reason why the Captain so readily resolved not to use cruelty. But fate found other ways and means, which he had not con-

cruauté. Mais la fortune trouua bien autres tours, & deſtours qu'il ne pẽſoit: car il luy falluſt entrer dans le haure, & ſe tenir à la veuë de la ville, & des autres nauires. Là de ſiniſtre accident, noſtre nauire s'alla heurter contre vne carauelle Eſpagnolle, chargée de ſucere, & luy rompit ſon beau-pré; l'Eſpagnol penſa que ce fut vn guet à pens, à celle fin de ſurprendre ſon vaiſſeau, & le voler: tout ainſi qu'auoit faict vn François dans le meſme port, cinq ſemaines au parauãt, & partant ſe print à crier au courſaire, faiſant armer ſes gens, & peu s'en fallut que lon [289 i.e., 291] ne vinſt aux mains. Grand bruit & grande eſmeute dans la ville, & par tous les nauires qui eſtoyent là, grand alarme. Il falluſt que le Capitaine allaſt à terre, & y demeuraſt pour gages, & aſſeurance: encores ne pouuoit-on croire, qu'il fut autre que Pirate. on vint viſiter & reuiſiter le nauire, & les Ieſuites ioüoyent comme l'on dit a eſconſailles, de trou en cachot, & de cachot en fonds, touſiours en quelque nouuelle muſſe. Or ſur le vif, & le chaud des ſoupçons, & grabuge, les Eſpagnols venants viſiter les pauures Peres & le garcon Francois eſtoyent derriere vne chaloupe ſe tenant coys & ſans ſouffler, car ſi ſeulement ils euſſent ſoufflé vn peu gros, ou remué la main ou le pied, ils euſſent eſté deſcouuerts. La choſe eſtoit ſi hazardeuſe, que nos Anglois en tranſiſſoyent de [290 i.e., 292] male-peur. Mais les Ieſuites leur voulurent conſtamment garder la foy pour pluſieurs raiſõs, & entre autres, pour faire voir par effect aux calomniateurs de l'Egliſe Catholique, qu'à tort, & contre verité ils luy impoſent d'enſeigner, qu'il ne faut point garder la foy aux heretiques. Ce qu'eſt totalement faux, & contre ſa doc-

sidered; for he was obliged to enter the harbor and remain in full view of the town, and of other ships. There, by an unlucky accident, our ship ran foul of a Spanish caravel, loaded with sugar, and broke its bowsprit; the Spaniards thought this was a ruse by means of which to surprise their vessel and rob it, just as a French ship had done in the same port five weeks before; and so they began to cry "pirates!" at the same time arming their crew; just a [289 i.e., 291] little more and they would have come to blows. There was great commotion and noise in the town, and considerable alarm throughout all the ships in the harbor. The Captain had to go on shore, and remain there as a hostage and security; and even then, no one could believe that he was other than a Pirate. They came to visit and revisit the ship, and the Jesuits played, as the saying is, at hide and seek, from top to bottom, from dungeon to hold, always finding some new hiding place. Now during the liveliest and fiercest suspicions, and disputes, the Spaniards came to visit the ship, and the poor Fathers and the French boy were huddled behind a boat, still and breathless; for if they had even breathed a little loud, or moved hand or foot, they would have been discovered. The thing was so dangerous that our English were seized with a [290 i.e., 292] panic. But the Jesuits wished to continue to keep faith with them for several reasons, and among others to make the slanderers of the Catholic Church really see that they ascribed to it wrongfully and untruthfully the doctrine that it is not necessary to keep faith with heretics; which is totally false and contrary to its belief. But let us return to the Spaniards. They never discovered the said fathers in their visit, and went away with a very high

trine. Mais reuenons aux Eſpagnols, ils n'apperceurent iamais leſdits peres en leur viſite, & s'en allerent en fort bonne opinion des Anglois, qui les voyants dehors, & reuenants à ſoy de la grande apprehenſion en laquelle ils auoyent eſté, ſe prindrent à faire tant de careſſes aux Peres, & tant de feſte en recognoiſſance de leur ſincerité, qu'en pourroyẽt faire vne troupe de bons parents & amys s'entre rencontrants en paix apres vne abſence, & ſeparation [291 i.e., 293] de bien long temps. Les meſmes Anglois ont ſouuent depuis loüangé leſdicts Peres en la preſence de leurs Miniſtres en Angleterre de ceſte leur fidelité, & les Miniſtres en demonſtroiẽt grands ſignes d'eſtonnement & admiration.

opinion of the English. The latter, when they saw them outside, recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown, began to embrace the Fathers as effusively, and to make as great a celebration in acknowledgment of their sincerity, as a company of kind kindred and friends would make at a peaceful reunion after a very long [291 i.e., 293] absence and separation. These same English have often since then praised the Fathers for this their fidelity, in the presence of their Ministers in England; and the Ministers have thereupon made great demonstrations of astonishment and admiration.

CHAPITRE XXXII.

LA VENUË EN ANGLETERRE: & LA DELIURANCE DES IESUITES.

LES Anglois demeurerent trois ſepmaines entieres engagez en ceſte Iſle, que nous diſons de Fæal, pendant lequel tẽps les pauures Ieſuites ne peurent point voir le Soleil. Or parce que leſdicts Anglois auoyent faute d'argent, ils ne peurẽt guieres s'y remplumer, ce qui les fit du tout [292 i.e., 294] reſoudre à ne plus retenter la Virginie, ains s'en reuenir en Angleterre, attendu meſmemẽt que ja ils ſe voyoient dans la preſente année 1614. qui eſtoit le terme de leur ſeruice.

Or eſtants en la courſe & voye d'Angleterre, la tempeſte nous ietta hors la marche (qu'on appelle) c'eſt à dire, hors le Canal qui eſt entre France & Angleterre, & nous fallut refugier au Port de Milfier, en la Prouince de Galles. Là vne autre fois toutes prouiſiõs nous defaillirent, ce qui contraignit noſtre Capitaine d'aller à Pembroch, ville principale de ceſt endroit, & Viceadmirauté, mais à Pembroch il fut arreſté priſonnier, ſur le ſoupcon qu'on auoit qu'il ne fuſt Pirate. Le ſoupçon naiſſoit de ce que luy, & ſes gens eſtoient Anglois, & leur nauire toutesfois eſtoit faict à la [293 i.e., 295] Frãçoiſe, ce qui faiſoit preſumer, qu'il venoit du Port de Gryp aux Iſles de l'Arcin, pardeçà le Cap Eſcumant. Le Capitaine ſe iuſtifia du mieux qu'il peuſt, diſant la verité: mais on

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND; AND THE DELIVERANCE OF THE JESUITS.

THE English were occupied three entire weeks at this Island, which we call Fæal, and during this time the poor Jesuits were not able to see the Sun. Now as these English were in need of money, they could not fit themselves out there, and this made them firmly [292 i.e., 294] decide to make no further attempt to return to Virginia, but to go back to England, especially as they now found themselves in the present year, 1614, which was the term of their service.

Now on our way to England the tempest cast us out of la ma[n]che[6] (as it is called); that is, out of the Channel between France and England, and we were obliged to take refuge in the Harbor of Milfier [Milford], in the Province of Wales. There again all provisions failed us, which compelled our Captain to go to Pembroch [Pembroke], the principal city of this place, and a Vice-admiralty. But at Pembroke he was taken prisoner, as they suspected him of being a Pirate. The suspicion arose from the fact that he and his crew were English, yet their ship was made after French [293 i.e., 295] models, which made them think he came from Port de Gryp on the Arcin Islands, this side of Cape Escumant. The Captain justified himself as well as he could, by telling the truth; but they did not believe him, inasmuch as

ne luy croyoit pas, d'autant qu'il n'auoit point de Commiſſions: & n'en pouuoit auoir, parce que n'eſtant que Lieutenant, il ſuiuoit ſon Capitaine, & ne s'eſtoit ſeparé d'auec luy que par accident de tempeſte, ainſi qu'auez ouy. A ceſte cauſe il fut contrainct de produire pour teſmoins de ſa preud'homie les deux Ieſuites, qu'il auoit dans ſon nauire, gens irreprochables, ce diſoit-il, & diſoit vray.

Auſſi toſt par commandement du Magiſtrat leſdits Ieſuites furẽt appellés à terre; & interrogés en Iuſtice, auec grand reſpect. Eux conterent la verité du faict, & à leur depoſition le Capitaine fut [294 i.e., 296] tenu gentil-homme d'honneur, & de bien; ſauf à demeſler nos differents touchant la nouuelle Frãce par deuãt le Roy. Neantmoins il fallut ſeiourner vn grand long temps audit Pembroch attendãt reſponſe de Londres, car il fut neceſſaire d'y enuoyer tant pour auoir de l'argent, que pour aduertir de ceſt affaire le grand Admiral, & la compagnie des Marchands, qui ont charge de la Virginie.

Et ceſt icy, où l'admiration arreſte, & mon haleine, & mon pas; pour m'eſcrier auec le Sage, *Que les diſpoſitions de la Diuine prouidence ſont veritablement dreſſées au compas, articulées au nombre, & meſurées au poids, & trebuchet, iuſques à vn demy grain.* Car ceſt appel des Ieſuites fut ſans doute, vne induſtrie de ceſte paternelle prouidẽce, qui les aſſiſtoit par tout: d'autant que [295 i.e., 297] s'ils fuſſent demeurés dans le nauire, comm'ils y eſtoyent, deſtitués de tout, au cœur de l'hyuer (car c'eſtoit en Feurier) & ce, quatre ſepmaines durant, il eſt vrayſemblable qu'ils fuſſent morts de froid, & de miſere: mais au moyen de ceſt appel, ils furent cogneus par le Iuge, lequel

he had no Commission, and could not have had, because being nothing but a Lieutenant he followed his Captain, from whom he was accidentally separated by the storm, as you have heard. For this reason he was obliged to produce, as witnesses of his honesty, the two Jesuits whom he had in his ship, irreproachable men, as he said, and said truly.

Immediately, by command of the Magistrate, the Jesuits were summoned to come on shore, where they were very respectfully interrogated in a Court of Justice. They stated the real facts of the case, and upon their testimony the Captain was [294 i.e., 296] acknowledged to be a gentleman of honor and of worth; as to the disentanglement of our difficulties about new France, these were to be reserved for the King. Nevertheless, we had to make a very long sojourn at Pembroke, awaiting an answer from London, for it was necessary to send there, partly to obtain money, partly to make known the affair to the high Admiral, and the company of Merchants who have charge of Virginia.

And here admiration makes me pause and hold my breath, to cry out with the Wise Man, *That the dispensations of Divine providence are truly arranged by compass, joined harmoniously, and measured by weight and balance even to the half of a grain.* For this call of the Jesuits was without doubt a contrivance of this paternal providence, which everywhere assisted them; inasmuch as, [295 i.e., 297] if they had remained in the ship, as they were doing, in want of everything, in the depths of winter (for it was February), and had continued to do this during four weeks, it is probable that they would have died of cold and starvation; but, by means of this summons, they became known

fort hõneſte & graue perſonnage qu'il eſt, ayant entendu combien ils eſtoyent mal dans le nauire, les fit loger chez le Maire de la ville, & paya pour eux, diſant, que s'ils auoyent dequoy, ils le luy rendroyent: ſinon que cela ſeroit donné pour Dieu: car autrement ce nous ſeroit trop de honte, (diſoit-il) ſi gens tant honneſtes, & ſçauants ne trouuoyẽt de la courtoiſie parmy nous. Ce bon Seigneur s'appelle Nicolas Adams, Vice-admiral dudit Pembroch.

Or pendant ce ſejour toute [296 i.e., 298] ſorte de gens les alloient voir, & de bien loin, par curioſité de voir des Ieſuites en leur habit, ainſi qu'ils eſtoient, & ont touſiours eſté iuſques à leur retour en Frãce. Miniſtres, Iuſticiers, Gentilshommes, & autres venoyent conferer auec eux; Vn Milord meſmes du grãd Conſeil voulut auoir le plaiſir de les accarer en diſpute rangée auec quatre Miniſtres. Ie dy Miniſtres pour m'accommoder à l'intelligence Françoiſe: car en Angleterre ils les appellent Preſtres: Et le Chef de la diſpute eſtoit vn Archidiacre, parce que les Anglois retiennent encores beaucoup de l'Egliſe Catholique, comme l'Ordre de la Hierarchie Eccleſiaſtique, Archeueſques, Eueſques, Preſtres, Archipreſtres, Archidiacres, Curez, Chanoines, &c. L'impoſition Epiſcopale des mains en la creation des Preſtres, [297 i.e., 299] & moindres Ordres, & en la confirmatiõ des enfans, Le Creſme, & les ceremonies, le ſigne de la Croix, & l'Image d'icelle, & d'autres: La Pſalmodie, & culte ordinaire, les feſtes ordonnées des Saincts, & Saincte, les Vigiles, les Ieuſnes, le Careſme, l'Abſtinence des viandes au Vendredy, & Samedy, les habits Sacerdotaux, & vaiſſeaux ſacrez: Et ceux qui condamnent toutes ces choſes, comme font les

to the Judge, honorable and grave personage as he is, and he, having heard how badly off they were in the ship, had them lodged in the house of the Mayor of the city, and paid for them himself, saying they might pay it back if they had the means, otherwise it would be given to God. "For" (said he), "it would be a great disgrace to us if such honorable and learned men were not received among us with courtesy." This kind Gentleman's name is Nicolas Adams, Vice admiral of Pembroke.

Now during this sojourn [296 i.e., 298] all kinds of people went to see them, and some from a great distance, through curiosity to see Jesuits dressed in their robes, as they were then and always have been until their return to France. Ministers, Justices, Gentlemen, and others came to confer with them; even a Lord of the great Council wished to have the pleasure of pitting four Ministers against them in debate. I say Ministers, to make myself intelligible to the French, for in England they call them Priests. And the Chief one in the debate was an Archdeacon, for the English still have a great many things in common with the Catholic Church, as the Order of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Archpriests, Archdeacons, Curates, Canons, etc.; the Episcopal laying on of hands in the ordination of Priests, [297 i.e., 299] and lesser Orders, and in the confirmation of children; the Chrism and its ceremonies, the sign of the Cross, the Image of this and of other things; the Psalmody and usual form of worship, the prescribed Saints' days, the Vigils, Fasts, Lent, Abstinence from meat on Friday and Saturday; Priestly robes, and consecrated vessels. And those who condemn all these things, as the Cal-

Caluiniſtes de France & d'Eſcoſſe, & les appellent ſuperſtitions damnables, & inuentions de l'Antechriſt, ſont nommez des Anglois, Puritains, & les deteſtent comme peſtes execrables.

Or en fin, reſponſe venant de Londres, on ſceut, que Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur de France auoit eſté aduerty de l'arriuée de ce nauire, & en pourſuiuoit la reddition, [298 i.e., 300] & particulierement des Ieſuites, ayant eu commandement de ce faire de ſa Majeſté tres-Chreſtienne. Ce fut vn autre effect de la Prouidence diuine, lors qu'elle moyenna ce noſtre arreſt, en la Prouince de Galles, à celle fin qu'il fuſt cogneu de tous: car nous auons de grands indices: & vous en verrez tantoſt aucuns, que ſi les Marchands, qui ont ſurintendance de la Virginie, en pouuoient faire à leur gré, pas vn eſtranger, qui auroit eſté en ladicte Virginie, ne reuiendroit iamais en ſon pays.

Pour toſt finir noſtre diſcours, notez que les Ieſuites furent conduits par vn long circuit au Port de Sanduicts; & de là ramenez à Douure par le commandement du Roy, & de Douure à Calais, où ils rendirent graces à Dieu pour tant de ſignalez benefices, [299 i.e., 301] & prouidence ſienne, & en auoyent bien occaſion, ayants demeuré neuf mois & demy entre les mains des Anglois. Le ſieur d'Arquien, Gouuerneur dudit Calais, & Monſieur la Baulaye, Doyen, leur firent de leur grace fort bon accueil, & leur aumoſnerent aſſez pour ſe conduire iuſques à leur College d'Amiens.

vinists of France and of Scotland do, and call them damnable superstitions, and inventions of the Antichrist, are by the English called Puritans, and are detested by them as abominable plagues.

When at last an answer came from London, it was learned that the Ambassador of France[7] had heard about the arrival of this ship, and was negotiating its surrender, [298 i.e., 300] especially the surrender of the Jesuits, having had orders to do so from his most Christian Majesty. This was another effect of divine Providence, since it caused this our arrest in the Province of Wales to the end that it might be known to all; for we have strong proofs, and you will soon see some of them, that if the Merchants in whose hands lay the administration of Virginia, had been able to have their own way, not one foreigner who was to be found in Virginia, would ever have returned to his own country.

To finish our story as quickly as possible, note that the Jesuits were taken by a long roundabout way to the Harbor of Sanduicts [Sandwich], and from there sent to Dover by order of the King, and from Dover to Calais, where they rendered thanks to God for such signal blessings [299 i.e., 301] and providences, for which they had good cause, having been nine months and a half in the hands of the English. Sieur d'Arquien, Governor of Calais, and Monsieur la Baulaye, Dean, gave them a very warm reception and provided them with means to return to their College at Amiens.

CHAPITRE XXXIV. [i.e., xxxiii.]

LE RETOUR DU SIEUR DE LA MOTE, DU CAPITAINE FLORY, & DE QUELQUES AUTRES. ET LA REDDITION DU NAUIRE.

PEV apres ceſte deliurance des Ieſuites, Dieu recueillit encores par ſa miſericorde, quaſi tout le reſte du naufrage en ceſte façon.

Le garçon qui eſtoit auec les Ieſuites, appellé Guillaume Crito, [300 i.e., 302] fut conduit à Londres, & de là renuoyé à ſon Pere à Honfleur.

Sur ce meſme temps le ſieur de la Mote reuint auſſi en Angleterre dans vn vaiſſeau de la Bermude, qui auoit paſſé par la Virginie.

Le Capitaine Argal combatit genereuſement contre le Mareſchal Thomas Deel (que vous auez ouy eſtre fort aſpre en ſes humeurs) à fin d'obtenir de luy permiſſion du retour, pour ledit ſieur de la Mote, & l'obtint en fin.

Or ledict ſieur la Mote fut fort eſtonné, que ſubitement eſtant arriué en Angleterre, perſonne ne luy parloit plus, perſonne ne le voyoit, il eſtoit delaiſſé de tous; & le pis eſt, que ſur ce il tomba malade dans le nauire. Il ſe ſoupçonna incontinent du danger où il eſtoit, & d'où il venoit: ſçauoir eſt, des marchands de la Virginie, [301 i.e., 303] qui euſſent deſiré ſe deffaire de luy, & ne ſçauoyent comment. Il taſcha donc par ſubtilité, & en trouua le moyen, de faire ſçauoir de ſes nouuelles à Monſieur de Biſſeaux, digne Ambaſſadeur de ſa Majeſté tres-Chreſtienne, qui auſſi

CHAPTER XXXIV. [i.e., xxxiii.]

THE RETURN OF SIEUR DE LA MOTE, OF CAPTAIN FLORY AND OTHERS, AND THE SURRENDER OF THE SHIP.

SHORTLY after this liberation of the Jesuits, God in his mercy rescued nearly all the others who had been shipwrecked, and in the following way.

The boy who was with the Jesuits, called Guillaume Crito, [300 i.e., 302] was taken to London and thence sent to his Father at Honfleur.

At the same time sieur de la Mote also returned to England in a vessel from the Bermudas, which had stopped at Virginia.

Captain Argal generously contended with Marshal Thomas Deel[1] (of whose great asperity of temper you have heard us speak) to obtain from him permission for sieur de la Mote to return, and at last it was granted.

Now this sieur la Mote was very much astonished when suddenly, on arriving in England, no one spoke to him any more, nor looked at him, and he found himself forsaken by all; and the worst of it was that he was taken sick on board the ship. He immediately suspected the nature of the danger which threatened him, and whence it came; namely, from the Virginia merchants, [301 i.e., 303] who would have liked to get rid of him, and did not know how. Therefore he tried by secret means, and finally suc-

toſt luy manda deux Gentilshommes, & le fit deliurer, & bien traicter, ainſi qu'il meritoit pour ſon courage, & valeur.

En ce meſme temps auſſi Madame la Marquiſe de Guercheuille enuoya la Sauſſaye à Londres, à celle fin de ſolliciter la reddition du nauire, & la reparation des torts receus par vn vol tant inique. Le nauire a eſté rendu, mais on n'a rien obtenu d'auantage iuſques à maintenant.

Or ainſi que noſtre nauire ayãt mainleuée prenoit ja le vol en France, païs de ſon origine: voicy, que le Capitaine Flory ſon Maiſtre [302 i.e., 304] arriua comme à poinct nommé, pour entrer dedans, & y commander.

Le Capitaine Argal s'en reuenant en Angleterre l'auoit encores arraché des mains du Mareſchal, & luy, & deux autres François. Certes ledit Argal s'eſt monſtré tel, que nous auons occaſion de luy ſouhaitter, qu'il ſerue d'ores-en-auant vne meilleure cauſe, & où ſa nobleſſe de cœur puiſſe paroiſtre, non à la perte, ains à la manutention des gens de bien.

De tout noſtre nombre, trois ſont morts à la Virginie, & quatre y reſtẽt encores, à la deliurance deſquels on trauaille autant que faire ſe peut. Dieu par ſa miſericorde leur donne patience, & tire de noſtre affliction le bien que ſa prouidence, & bonté aggreent. Ainſi ſoit-il.

ceeded in having his story made known to Monsieur de Bisseaux, worthy Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, who immediately sent to him two Gentlemen who had him liberated and well treated, as he deserved to be for his courage and his valor.

At the same time also Madame la Marquise de Guercheville sent la Saussaye to London, to request the surrender of the ship, and reparation for the wrongs involved in this iniquitous robbery. The ship has been given up, but, up to the present, nothing else has been obtained.

And now, just as our ship, having been set free, was about to wing her way to France, her native land, behold, Captain Flory, her Master, [302 i.e., 304] as if by appointment, arrives upon the scene to step in and take command of her.

Captain Argal, about to return to England, had rescued him and two other Frenchmen from the hands of the Marshal. Certainly this Argal has shown himself such a person that we have reason to wish for him that, from now on, he may serve a better cause and one in which his nobility of heart may appear, not in the ruin, but in the preservation of honest men.

Of all our number, three died in Virginia, and four still remain there, for whose liberation everything possible is being done. May God in his mercy give them patience, and may he derive from our affliction whatever good is acceptable to his providence and mercy. Amen.

CHAPITRE XXXV. [i.e., xxxiv.]

[303 i.e., 305] QUEL PROFIT A ESTÉ FAICT QUANT À LA RELIGION CHRESTIENNE EN LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

MAINTENANT quelqu'vn ayant ouy tout noſtre recit à bon droict nous dira: Or ſus, voila beaucoup de trauaux, que vous nous auez conté, pluſieurs entrepriſes loüables, & diuers accidents bien ſauuages; Mais quoy? Eſt-ce là tout le profit quant à l'auancement du culte de Dieu? N'auez-vous couru que pour ainſi vous laſſer? deſpendu que pour conſumer, paty ſinon pour encores par deſſus en eſtre diffamez en France? Car ſi Canada ne rend point autre reuenu, nous vous dirons, qu'aucun, s'il n'eſt fol, ne trauaille pour ſeulement patir; [304 i.e., 306] & ne deſpend pour ſeulemẽt s'eſpuiſer. Ains a tres-biẽ dit le ſainct Apoſtre, *Que, qui laboure, c'eſt en eſperance de recueillir du fruict.* Quel fruict doncques nous apportez-vous de vos trauaux.

A ce'la ie reſponds que par tout, & auſſi bien en France, qu'en Canada, il faut ſemer auant que moyſſonner, & planter auant que recueillir, & ne point tant eſtre ou auare, ou impatient, qu'on vueille, comme les vſuriers, auſſi toſt le profit que le preſt. Combiẽ que certes au ſeruice de Dieu il n'y auroit que deſpenſes, & trauaux, elles ont de ſoy-meſme aſſez grand emolument, & ſalaire; non ja pour eſtre deſpenſes & trauaux, ains pour eſtre preuues, & exercices de noſtre deuoir, & pieuſe volonté enuers noſtre

CHAPTER XXXV. [i.e., xxxiv.]

[303 i.e., 305] WHAT PROGRESS THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION HAS MADE IN NEW FRANCE.

NOW some one, having heard all our story, with good reason will say: "Come now, here is a great deal of labor you have told us about, several laudable enterprises, and various rough and violent accidents, but is this all the profit there is in the advancement of the worship of God? Have you run, only to thus weary yourselves? expended, only for the sake of consuming? endured suffering, only to be abused for it in France? For if Canada does not furnish any other revenue, we can tell you that no one, unless he be a fool, works simply for the sake of suffering, [304 i.e., 306] or expends only to exhaust himself. But very truly says the holy Apostle, *That he who planteth hopeth to gather fruit.* What fruit then do you bring us from your labors?"

To this I answer, that everywhere, in France as well as in Canada, it is necessary to sow before reaping, and to plant before gathering, and not to be so avaricious or impatient as to wish, like usurers, the profit at the same time as the loan. How true it is that, in the service of God, there should be nothing but expense and labor, these of themselves being a great enough reward and salary; not because they are expenses and labors, but because they are proofs and exercises of our duty and pious willingness towards the liberal donor of all gifts, our all-powerful

liberal donateur de toutes choſes noſtre Dieu tout-puiſſant. Car il [305 i.e., 307] ne poiſe pas, ny n'eſtime nos conſeils, & deſſeins à la balance & au poids des euenements, qui ſont en ſa main, & ordonnance; ains à la ſolidité de noſtre vouloir, à la maſſiueté de l'entreprinſe, à l'integrité de la deuotion, & deliberation.

Il diſpoſe les euenements comme il luy plaiſt, les rendant ſouuent plus heureux, & plus fructueux, que moins on les recognoit pour tels. *Car celuy, qui plante n'eſt rien, ny celui qui arrouſe; ains celui, qui donne accroiſſement;* lequel accroiſſement ſe fait premierement ſoubs terre, & hors la veüe des hommes.

Quant à moy, i'eſtime vn tres-grand profit en ce que nous auõs touſiours mieux, & mieux deſcouuert le naturel de ces terres, & païs: la diſpoſition des habitans: le moyen de les pouuoir ayder: [306 i.e., 308] les contrarietez, qui peuuent ſuruenir au progrez de l'œuure: & les ſecours, qu'il faut oppoſer à l'ennemy. L'architecte qui fait, & deffaict ſes plans & modeles iuſques à la cinq, & ſixieſme fois, ne ſe penſe pas pour cela n'auoir rien faict en ſon premier, & ſecond eſſay, leſquels il aura deffaits pour s'arreſter, au ſixieſme; Parce que, dira-il, ce dernier n'a ſa perfectiõ, que de l'imperfectiõ des premiers. De meſme en eſt-il de l'orateur, qui efface & raye deux, & trois fois ce qu'il auoit eſcrit de premiere ardeur, parce que la beauté, & force des concepts, & paroles, qu'il ſubſtituë pour la quatrieſme fois, luy naiſt de la reiection, & du deſplaiſir des precedentes. Auſſi de vray, ce n'eſt pas autrement, que Dieu nous donne pour l'ordinaire la prudence, & l'ameliorement des choſes; ſinon [307 i.e., 309] par diuerſes experiences, & pour la pluſpart

God. For he [305 i.e., 307] does not weigh nor judge our counsels and designs in the balance and by the weight of the results, which are in his hand and ordinance; but by the firmness of our desire, the greatness of the enterprise, and the honesty of our devotion and purpose.

He arranges events as it pleases him, often rendering them the more happy and the more fruitful, the less one recognizes them as such. *For he that planteth is nothing, nor he that watereth; but he who giveth the increase;* and this increase is first made under the ground, and out of the sight of men.

For my part, I consider it a great advantage that we have learned more and more about the nature of these territories and lands, the character of the inhabitants, the means of helping them, [306 i.e., 308] the obstacles which are liable to arise against the progress of the work, and the help that must be given to oppose the enemy. The architect who makes and unmakes his plans and models even to the fifth and sixth time, does not think, for all that, that he has not accomplished anything in his first and second trials, which he has destroyed to stop at the sixth; for he will say that the perfection of the last, lies only in the imperfections of the first. It is thus also with the orator, who erases and scratches out twice and three times what he has written in his first enthusiasm, because the beauty and force of the ideas and words, which he substitutes for the fourth time, come to him from his rejection of, and dissatisfaction with, the preceding ones. So, in truth, it is not otherwise that God usually gives us prudence and the better management of things, only [307 i.e., 309] through various experiences, and for the most part through our own faults

de nos fautes & de celles d'autruy. Nous auons donc vne partie de nos pretenſions, nous auons experimenté: nous ſçauõs ce qu'il faut, & ce qui nuit: & où giſt le poinct principal de l'affaire. Les moyens, qu'on a employé n'ont point eſté ſi grands, ne ſi proportionnez à plus haute fin, qu'il faille nous beaucoup meſcõtenter de ce que Dieu nous dõne.

Mais encores d'autre coſté c'eſt vn grand fruict, que la confiance & amitié que les Sauuages ont prinſe auecques les François, par la grande familiarité, & hantiſe, qu'ils ont eu auec eux. Car touſiours faut-il mettre ceſte baſe auant que d'eſleuer le chapiteau; ſçauoir eſt, de les nous rendre ou citoyens, ou bons hoſtes, & amis auant que de les auoir pour freres. Or ceſte confiance, & ceſte [308 i.e., 310] priuauté eſt ja ſi grande, que nous viuons entr'eux auec moins de crainte, que nous ne ferions dans Paris. Car dans Paris nous n'oſerions dormir, que la porte bien verrouïllée; mais là nous ne la fermons que contre le vent, & ſi n'en dormons pas pour cela moins aſſeurez. Au commencement ils nous fuyoiẽt, & craignoyent: ores ils nous deſirẽt. A noſtre premiere deſcente, & viſite de S. Sauueur, nous fiſmes ſemblant, que la place ne nous agreoyt pas, & que voulions aller autrepart, ces bonnes gents du lieu en pleuroyent, & lamentoyent. Au contraire, le Sagamo de Kadeſquit, appellé Betſabes, s'en vint pour nous y attirer auec mille promeſſes, ayant ouy que nous pretendiõs de nous y aller loger. Eſt-ce peu que d'auoir ce ſi bon fondement de Iuſtice en nos peuplades, & ce tant [309 i.e., 311] aſſeuré gage de bon ſuccez? Et ne faut point eſtimer que les autres Nations ayent porté ceſte amitié auſſi bien que nous.

and those of others. We have done, then, a part of what we intended to do; we have experimented, we know what is necessary and what is harmful, and wherein lies the principal part of the work. The means which have been employed have not been so great, nor so proportioned to a higher purpose, that we should be greatly dissatisfied with what God gives us.

But yet, on the other hand, it is a great result that the French have won the confidence and friendliness of the Savages, through the great familiarity and frequent intercourse which they have had with them. For the foundation must always be laid before raising the capital; that is, we must make them citizens, or good hosts and friends, before making them brothers. Now this confidence and this [308 i.e., 310] intimacy is already so great that we live among them with less fear than we would in Paris. For in Paris we can not sleep without having the doors well bolted; but there we close them against the wind only, and sleep no less securely for keeping them open. At first they fled from us, and feared us; now they wish us with them. When we first disembarked and visited St. Sauveur, and pretended that we did not like the place, and that we thought of going elsewhere, these simple natives wept and lamented. On the other hand, the Sagamore of Kadesquit, called "Betsabes,"[8] came to persuade us, with a thousand promises, to go to his place, having heard that we had some intention of making a settlement there. Is it a small thing to have such a foundation of Justice in our colonies, and this so [309 i.e., 311] sure pledge of great success? And we must not conclude that other nations have borne this

Car nous ſommes teſmoins oculaires, comme leſdicts Sauuages ayants rencontré vn auantage (à leur aduis) contre les Anglois, ſe ruerent ſur eux furieuſement, penſants comme ie croy tirer quelque reuenche de l'iniure, qui nous auoit eſté faicte: mais le bon-heur ne les ſeconda pas en leur attaque. Pareillement, ſur la fin de l'an 1611. les Holandois voulans ſeulement deſcendre au Cap de la Heue, pour y faire aiguade, nos Sauuages les aſſaillirent bruſquement, & en defirent ſix, entre leſquels eſtoit le Capitaine du nauire. Il me ſemble, que nous ſerons indignes de ceſte bienvueillance, ſi nous ne faiſons, qu'elle leur profite à aymer celuy, de qui nous [310 i.e., 312] receuons tous nos biens.

Outre plus, quoy que les Ieſuites n'ayent pas baptiſé communement les adultes pour les raiſons cy-deuant deduites: ſi les ont-ils catechiſé tant qu'ils ont peu, & par les yeux, & par les oreilles. Par les yeux, dy-ie, leur faiſant voir nos vs & ceremonies, & les y accouſtumants. En nos Proceſſions nous faiſiõs aller les petits enfans au deuãt de la Croix, & faire quelque ſeruice, comme de porter les luminaires, ou autres choſes; & tant eux que leurs peres y prenoyent du plaiſir, comme s'ils euſſent eſté vrayement Chreſtiens. Dieu mercy cela eſt ja communement gaigné, qu'ils ne veulent point mourir ſans bapteſme, ſe croyans eſtre miſerables à iamais, s'ils treſpaſſent ſans iceluy, ou du moins, ſans vne forte volonté d'iceluy, & ſans douleur de leurs pechez.

[311 i.e., 313] Le Patriarche Fleſche (comme a eſté dit) en auoit baptiſé peut eſtre quatre vingts, les Ieſuites ſeulemẽt vne vingtaine, & iceux petits enfans, hormis trois, qui ont eſté baptiſés en extreme neceſſité

friendship as well as we, for we are eyewitnesses to the fact that these Savages, having (as they supposed,) some advantage over the English, threw themselves upon them with fury, thinking, I believe, to get revenge for the injury that had been done us; but they were not successful in their attack. Likewise, towards the end of the year 1611, the Hollanders merely wishing to land at Cap de la Heve to take in some fresh water, our Savages assailed them fiercely, and made away with six of them, among whom was the Captain of the ship. It seems to me that we will be unworthy of this friendliness, if we do not so act that it may avail them in learning to love him, from whom we [310 i.e., 312] receive all our blessings.

Furthermore, although the Jesuits have not usually baptized adults, for the reasons heretofore stated, yet they have catechized them as well as they could, both through the eyes and the ears. Through the eyes, I say, making them see our usages and ceremonies and accustoming them thereto. In our Processions we had the little children march before the Cross, and perform some service, such as carrying the lights, or other things; and both they and their fathers take pleasure in this, as if they were really Christians. Thank God this much has already been accomplished, that they do not wish to die without baptism, believing that they will be forever miserable, if they pass away without it, or at least a strong desire for it, and without sorrow for their sins.

[311 i.e., 313] The Patriarch Flesche (as has been said) baptized perhaps eighty of them, the Jesuits only about twenty, and these were little children, except three, who were baptized in the last extremity of sick-

de maladie, & ſont allés iouïr de la vie bien-heureuſe, apres auoir eſté regenerés à icelle, comme auſſi aucũs des petits enfans. Nous auions compoſé noſtre Catechiſme en Sauuageois, & commencions aucunement à pouuoir iargonner auec nos Catechumenes. Nous dreſſions vne nouuelle peuplade fort commode: c'eſtoit noſtre Automne, noſtre temps des fruicts: & voila que ſur ce poinct l'enuieux de tout bien, & ſpecialement, du ſalut humain eſt venu de malice à mettre le feu à nos trauaux, & nous emporter hors du champ. Le victorieux Ieſus de ſa puiſſante main: & inuincible [312 i.e., 314] ſapience le confonde. Ainſi ſoit-il.

ness, and thence have gone to enjoy a life of bliss, after having been born again in this life; as have also some of the little children. We had composed our Catechism in the Savage language, and had begun to be able to talk some kind of a jargon with our Catechumens. We were founding a new and very pleasant colony, it was our Autumn, our time of harvest. And lo, at this moment, the one who is jealous of all good, and particularly of human salvation, came and, wickedly setting fire to all our work, bore us away from the field. May the victorious Jesus, with his powerful hand, and invincible [312 i.e., 314] wisdom, confound him. Amen.

CHAPITRE XXXVI. [i.e., xxxv.]

AUCUNES MERUEILLES, QUE DIEU A OPERÉ EN LA GUERISON DES SAUUAGES.

MAIS comme Dieu appelle ceſte nation de Sauuages par ſa miſericorde, & douceur conuenablement à leur portee, & neceſſités, ainſi luy a-il pleu ſe monſtrer à eux benin & ſecourable. Ie vous remarqueray icy trois de ces marques bien euidentes, & certaines, faictes en la gueriſon des maladies corporelles.

La premiere foit ceſte-cy. Le P. Biard eſtant allé à la riuiere de l'Eplan (ainſi qu'a eſté dit cy-deſſus,) on luy dit, qu'à deux lieües [313 i.e., 315] de là en la Baye S. Marie y auoit vne femme proche de la mort, laquelle deſiroit fort de le voir, & luy parler. Le Pere pria vn certain nommé la Pierre, de l'y conduire: ce qu'il fit. Ils treuuerent ceſte femme ſelon la couſtume de leurs malades, eſtenduë au long du feu, & trauaillée de mal deſpuis trois ſepmaines. Le Pere la Catechiſe du mieux qu'il peut, & l'encourage, faiſant quelques prieres, puis s'en reuint, luy laiſſant vne croix penduë au col, par ce qu'il ne l'eſtima point eſtre ſi bas, qu'il la falluſt baptiſer, ſeulement il aduertit les aſſiſtants, que ſi elle continuoit en maladie trois ou quatre iours, ou qu'elle empiraſt, qu'õ le vint appeller. Il n'en fut pas de beſoin: car le iour ſuiuant laditte femme ſe leua ſaine, & gaillarde, & s'en alla trouuer ſon mary chargée d'vn peſant ſac, & ſa

CHAPTER XXXVI. [i.e., xxxv.]

SOME MIRACLES WHICH GOD PERFORMED IN THE CURE OF THE SAVAGES.

BUT as God, being merciful and gentle, calls this nation of Savages according to their capacity and needs, so he has been pleased to show himself kind and helpful to them. I shall call to your attention here three proofs of this, very evident and sure, which were shown in the cure of bodily ills.

Let the first be this one. Father Biard having gone to the river of Smelts[9] (as has been said before), was told, that two leagues [313 i.e., 315] from there at the Baye Ste. Marie, there was a woman very near death, who had a strong desire to see and speak with him. The Father begged a certain man named Pierre to accompany him thither, which he did. They found this woman, who had been afflicted by disease for three weeks, stretched out by the fire, according to the custom of their sick people. The Father Catechized her as well as he could, and encouraged her, offering some prayers; then he returned, leaving a cross hanging around her neck, for he did not consider her so low that it was necessary to baptize her; he only advised those present that if she continued ill three or four days, or if she became worse, they should summon him. There was no need, for the next day this woman arose healthy and happy, and, laden with a heavy bag, went to find her husband four leagues away, with her cross

croix au [314 i.e., 316] col; iuſques à quatre lieües de là. Celuy qui premier la vit fut vn huguenot de Dieppe, appellé Ieã Bachelard, qui en vint porter les nouuelles au ſuſdit Ieſuite.

La ſeconde fut à Pentegoet: le Pere Biard y eſtant en la compagnie du Sieur de Biencourt, & ſelon ſa couſtume viſitant les malades du lieu, & recitant ſur eux les ſaincts Euangiles, on luy en monſtra vn, duquel on n'attendoit plus vie, malade deſpuis trois mois. Il eſtoit pour lors en vn fort accez, ne parlant qu'à grande peine, & ſuant d'vne ſueur froide, preſage de la mort. Le Ieſuite luy fit baiſer par pluſieurs fois vne croix, qu'il luy attacha au col, luy annonçant le mieux qu'il pouuoit les bonnes nouuelles du ſalut acquis en icelle; il y auoit bonne compagnie de Sauuages, qui eſcoutoyent, & à leur contenance monſtroyent [315 i.e., 317] grand contentement en ce qui ſe diſoit: le Pere les laiſſa ainſi bien affectionnés, & s'en reuint à la barque. Or ce que Dieu fit en ſon abſence apparoit, de ce que nous viſmes vn iour apres. Car le Sieur de Biencourt faiſant la trocque en ſa barque, ce Sauuage y vint auec les autres, ſain, & gaillard portant ſa croix en parade, & fit recognoiſſance au Pere Biard deuant tous auec grande ioye.

La tierce eſt bien ſignalée, & partant ie la deduiray au long. Comme nous auons raconté cy-deuant le Sieur de la Mote, Simon l'interprete, & le Pere Biard eſtoyent allés viſiter le lieu de S. Sauueur, pour recognoiſtre s'il ſeroit bon pour leur demeure. Or reuenants de ceſte viſite, & retournants aux Cabannes des Sauuages, ils ouyrent de bien loin, deux ou trois fois vn grand, & [316 i.e., 318] lamentable hurlement,

hanging around her [314 i.e., 316] neck. The one who first saw her was a huguenot of Dieppe, called Jean Bachelard, who came to bring the news to the Jesuit.

The second was at Pentegoet; Father Biard being there in company with Sieur de Biencourt, and, according to his custom, visiting the sick people of the place, and reciting over them passages from the holy Gospels, they showed him a certain one who was not expected to live, having been sick for three months. He was then having a violent attack, speaking only with great difficulty, and bathed in a cold perspiration, the forerunner of death. The Jesuit had him kiss a cross several times, which he attached to his neck, announcing as well as he could the good tidings of the salvation acquired thereby; there were a number of Savages present, who listened, and, by their countenances, showed [315 i.e., 317] great satisfaction in what was being said. The Father left them thus kindly disposed, and returned to the barque. Now what God did in his absence was apparent from what we saw a day later. For when Sieur de Biencourt was trading in his barque, this Savage, with several others, came there healthy and happy, parading his cross, and, with great demonstrations of joy, expressed his gratitude to Father Biard before them all.

The third is very remarkable, and therefore I shall tell it at length. As we have related above, Sieur de la Mote, Simon the interpreter, and Father Biard had gone to visit the place called St. Sauveur, to find out whether it would be suitable for a settlement. Now coming back from this visit, and returning to the Cabins of the Savages, they heard two or three times

& demandans au Sauuage, qui les conduiſoit, qu'eſt-ce que cela pourroit eſtre: le Sauuage leur reſpondit: que quelqu'vn eſtoit mort: & que c'en eſtoit les plaintes, qui fut cauſe, que nous ne nous en miſmes point en eſmoy. Or comme nous eſtions ja fort à la portee de la voix, voicy que ce mugiſſement s'entend de nouueau; & de fortune vn ieune garçon Sauuage ſe rencontrant ſur le chemin, la curioſité pouſſa le P. Biard à luy demander, qui eſtoit ce mort, que l'on lamentoit? Le garçon reſpondit, que ce n'eſtoit pas vn mort, ains vn mourant: & adiouſte de ſoy-meſme: court viſte, à laduenture le pourras-tu baptiſer auant qu'il meure tout à faict; lors comme ſi Dieu l'euſt dit de ſa bouche, nous nous miſmes à courir de tout noſtre poſſible. Arriués, nous [317 i.e., 319] trouuaſmes tous les Sauuages hors de leurs Cabannes rangés en haye comme des ſoldarts en vne perte de ville, au milieu ſe promenoit vn miſerable Pere tenant ſon enfant, qui ſe mouroit entre ſes bras. Or quand l'enfant venoit à ietter des ſanglots croyant qu'il vouloit rendre l'Ame, le Pere ſe prenoit à hurler pitoyablement, & toute la compagnie le ſuiuoit de meſme ton; car telle eſt leur couſtume. Doncques le P. Biard voyant ce ſpectacle, s'adreſſa au deſconforté Pere, & luy demanda s'il luy plairoit bien, qu'il baptiſaſt ſon fils: le bon homme, qui eſtoit preſque hors de ſoy, ne luy reſpondit rien de parole; mais en effect il luy mit ſon enfant entre les bras. Le P. cria que toſt lon apportaſt de l'eau, ce qu'on fit, & remettant l'enfant entre les mains du Sieur de la Mote (qui de grand [318 i.e., 320] zele deſiroit d'en eſtre parrain, le baptiſa, l'appellant Nicolas, du nom dudict Sieur. Les Sauuages attendants quelque grand effect, ſe

cries and [316 i.e., 318] lamentations in the distance, and, asking the Savage who guided them what this might mean, he answered that some one was dead and this was the mourning; hence we did not hasten our footsteps. Now as we were already within easy hearing distance of the voice, lo, this howling begins anew; and, by chance, a young Savage boy being met upon the way, curiosity impelled Father Biard to ask him who this dead person was that was being mourned. The boy answered that no one was dead, but that some one was dying, and added, of his own accord, "Run fast, perhaps you can baptize him before he really dies;" then, as if God had said this with his own lips, we began to run with all our might. When we arrived we [317 i.e., 319] found all the Savages outside their Huts, drawn up in line like soldiers on the surrender of a city; in front of them walked an unhappy Father holding his child, who was dying, in his arms. Now when the child happened to sob, the Father, supposing that its Life was departing, began to groan pitifully; and the whole company followed him in the same tone, for such is their custom.[10] Accordingly, when Father Biard saw this spectacle, he addressed the disconsolate Father, and asked him if he would be glad to have his son baptized; the poor simple fellow, who was almost beside himself, answered him not a word, but put the child in his arms. The Father cried that they should bring him some water immediately, which was done, and putting the child in the arms of Sieur de la Mote (who was very [318 i.e., 320] zealous to be its godfather, baptized him, calling him Nicolas, the name of the said Sieur. The Savages, expecting some great results, crowded round to see what would

preſſerent pour voir ce qu'en aduiendroit. Or le P. Biard apres auoir recité quelques oraiſons à ce qu'il pleuſt à Dieu d'illuminer ces pauures Payens, print le baptiſé des mains du Sieur de la Mote, & le donna à ſa mere, qui eſtoit là, qui comme Mere, preſenta incontinent le tetin à ſon fils, lequel teta de bon appetit. Quand les Sauuages virent ainſi cet enfant pendu aux mamelles de ſa mere; ſi la terre euſt fondu deſſous leurs pieds, ie ne ſçay s'ils euſſent eſté plus eſtonnés. Ils demeuroyent là fixes, & immobiles, ſans ſonner mot comme des Engelés. Le Pere leur dit quelques paroles d'edification, puis leur ſignifia de ſe retirer en leurs Cabanes. Et ſçauez [319 i.e., 321] vous s'il fut obey? Ces bonnes gens le regardoient lors comme s'il euſt eſté plus qu'homme, tremblants deuant luy, auec demonſtration d'eſtre grandement touchez de Dieu. Ceſt enfant eſtoit encores ſain & diſpos vn mois apres ceſte ſienne gueriſon, peu auant noſtre prinſe par les Anglois: car ſa mere l'apporta à nos tentes, & fut veu de la pluſpart de nos gens. Voyla comme Dieu ne laiſſe point ſa loy ſans authentique teſmoignage; ny ſa bonté ſans admirables effects.

happen. Now Father Biard, after having recited some prayers to the effect that God might be pleased to enlighten these poor Heathen, took the baptized child from the hands of Sieur de la Mote, and gave him to his mother, who was there; she, as Mother, immediately offered the child the breast, and he received nourishment with great eagerness. When the Savages saw this child thus hanging upon the mother's breasts, if the earth had sunk beneath their feet, I do not think they could have been more astonished. They remained there, fixed and immovable, without saying a word, and as if Frozen. The Father uttered a few words of instruction to them and then motioned to them to return to their Cabins. Do you [319 i.e., 321] know whether he was obeyed or not? These good people looked upon him as though he were more than man, trembling before him, and seeming to have been strongly touched by God. This child was still healthy and active a month after this, its recovery, a little while before we were taken by the English; for the mother brought him to our tents, and was seen by the greater part of our people. See now that God does not leave his law without authentic testimonies, nor his goodness without admirable results.

CHAPITRE XXXVII. [i.e., xxxvi.]

LES RAISONS DES FRANÇOIS, PAR LESQUELLES ILS S'APPROPRIENT À BON DROICT LES TERRES DE LA NOUUELLE FRANCE, CONTRE LA PRETENSION DES ANGLOIS.

MAINTENANT, que i'ay ſatisfaict aux deux premieres [320 i.e., 322] parties de ma promeſſe, ſçauoir eſt, que i'ay faict ma Relation du naturel des terres & des habitans de la nouuelle France: & vous ay raconté les comportemẽs des Ieſuites, & les accidents, qui leur y ſont ſuruenus; Reſte la tierce, d'expoſer en quoy conſiſte la diſpute, qui eſt ores ſuruenuë entre les François, & Anglois, touchant ces contrées, & les raiſons de l'vn & de l'autre party. Car le curieux Lecteur, à mon aduis, ſera bien aiſe, d'entendre en quoy giſt ce poinct cõtentieux: & les raiſons qu'on apporte de part & d'autre; meſmes que cela appartient à l'honneur des François, de faire cognoiſtre à toutes nations à combien iuſtes tiltres, pertinentes raiſons, & ſyncere conſcience, nos Roys ſe ſont faits Maiſtres, & ont poſſedé ces terres iuſques à ce temps.

[321 i.e., 323] Il faut doncques ſçauoir tout premierement, que les Anglois ne nous diſputent point toute la nouuelle France; Car ils n'oſent nous denier, ce que tout le monde nous accorde; ains ſeulement ils conteſtent des confins. Ils nous accordent doncques vne nouuelle France, mais limitée par les bords

CHAPTER XXXVII. [i.e., xxxvi.]

THE REASONS WHY THE FRENCH HAVE APPROPRIATED BY GOOD RIGHT THE LANDS OF NEW FRANCE, AGAINST THE PRETENSIONS OF THE ENGLISH.

NOW as I have fulfilled the first two [320 i.e., 322] parts of my promise, that is, I have given an Account of the character of the lands and the inhabitants of new France, and have described to you the conduct of the Jesuits, and the adventures that befell them; there remains then the third topic: the explanation of the dispute that has now arisen between the French and English in regard to these countries, and the arguments for and against both sides. For the curious Reader, I believe, will be glad to learn just what the point of contention is, and the arguments which are advanced by both parties; it is even due to the honor of the French people, to make known to all nations how just are the titles, how suitable the reasons, and in what sincerity of conscience our Kings have made themselves Masters, and have taken possession of these lands up to the present.

[321 i.e., 323] Accordingly it must be understood that the English do not dispute with us all of new France. For they dare not refuse what everybody grants us, but they only contest some of the boundaries. They grant us then a new France, but bound

du Golfe, & grande riuiere de fainct Laurens, & nous reſtreignent dans les 47. 48. & 49. degrés d'eleuatiõ polaire. Du moins ils ne nous permettent pas de deſcendre plus bas vers le midy, que du quaranteſixieſme degré; s'attribuans tout ce qui eſt dés la Floride, & le 33. degré iuſques à Campſeau, & les Iſles de Cap Breton.

Les fondements de ceſte leur pretenſion ſont parce que enuiron l'an 1694. il y a vingt deux ans, eſtants entrez dans ce grand ſein [322 i.e., 324] de la mer Americane, que les Anciens appelloyent de Mocoſa, & y ayants trouué vne riuiere, & païs, qui leur agrea: ils commencerent à le vouloir habiter, luy impoſants le nom de Virginie: mais ayants eſté contrariez par les naturels, & autres accidents leur eſtoyent arriuez, ils furẽt en fin contraints de le quitter entierement, n'y ayants pas demeuré plus de deux, ou trois ans. Neantmoins deſpuis le Sereniſſime Roy Iacques à preſent regnant, venu à la couronne, ils ont prins reſolution de le reconqueſter, & cultiuer. A quoy ledit Roy fauoriſant, a baillé des grands Priuileges à ceux, qui entreprenoyent ceſte peuplade, & entre autres a eſtendu le droict de leur tenuë dés le 33. degré d'eleuation iuſques au 45. leur donnãt puiſſance de courir ſus à tous eſtrangers, qu'ils trouueroyẽt dans [323 i.e., 325] ce deſtroict de terre, & cinquante mille auant dedans la mer. Ces lettres du Roy on eſté expediees l'an quatrieſme de ſon regne, & de grace 1607. le 10. d'Auril, il y a ſept ans: car ie deſcry cecy l'an 1614.

Voyla ce que i'en ay peu apprendre de toutes les parchartes & enſeignements, que nos contendants apportent pour ſe maintenir en droict, & cauſe; & nous

it by the shores of the Gulf and great river saint Lawrence, and restrict us within the 47th, 48th, and 49th degrees of north latitude. At least they do not allow us to go farther south than the forty-sixth degree, claiming all that country from Florida and the 33rd degree up to Campseau and the Islands of Cape Breton.

The reasons for these their pretensions are, that about the year 1694 [*sic*], twenty-two years ago, having entered that great gulf [322 i.e., 324] of the American sea which was formerly called Mocosa, and there having found a river and country which pleased them, they made attempts at settlement, giving it the name of Virginia; but, having been opposed by the natives, and other accidents having overtaken them, they were at last obliged to give it up entirely, not having lived there more than two or three years. Nevertheless since the Most Serene King James, now reigning, came to the throne, they resolved to reconquer and cultivate it. The King, favoring this project, granted some important Privileges to those who undertook this colony, and, among other things, extended their right of occupation from the 33rd degree of north latitude up to the 45th, giving them power to attack all foreigners whom they might find within [323 i.e., 325] these limits, and fifty miles out into the sea. These patents of the King were drawn up during the fourth year of his reign, and in the year of grace 1607 on the 10th of April, seven years ago, for I am writing this in 1614.[11]

So that is what I have been able to learn from all the charters and instructions which our contestants bring forth to support them in their rights and claims; and, while we are being confined within the

confiner dans le deſtroict de la vieille Canada, eux ſe tenants au large, & à franches coudées, nous faiſants la part à leur bon plaiſir. Voicy ce que nous leur repartiſſons legalement.

1. En premier lieu, que par vne prouidence admirable de Dieu leurs propres lettres Royaux ſur leſquelles ils ſe fondent, les deſdiſent de leur pretention: Parce qu'il eſt dit expreſſement dans [324 i.e., 326] icelles auec exception ſpecifique: *Nous leur donnons toutes les terres iuſques au 45. degré, leſquelles ne ſont point actuellement poſſedées par aucun Prince Chreſtien.* Or eſt-il, que lors de la datte de ces lettres, le Roy de France actuellement & reellement poſſedoit pour le moins iuſques au 39. degré deſdictes terres. Tout le monde le ſçait par les voyages de Champlain: car il conſte par iceux, que l'an 1607. le ſieur de Mõts eſtoit à port Royal, & par ſes gens, & authorité gouuernoit tout iuſques au 39. degré, comme Lieutenant de ſa Majeſté tres-Chreſtienne.

2. En apres, ſi les Anglois veulẽt dire, qu'ils n'ont pas commencé de poſſeder leur Virginie dés l'an ſeulement 1607, ains dés l'an 1594. qu'ils la trouuerent (comme nous auons dit:) Nous reſpondõs, que la riuiere, laquelle ils commencerent [325 i.e., 327] lors à poſſeder eſt au 36. degré, & que ceſte leur allegation à l'auenture pourroit valoir, s'il n'eſtoit queſtion, que de retenir ceſte dicte riuiere, & ſept ou huict lieües de l'vn, & l'autre coſté d'icelle: car autant loin ſe peut porter noſtre veuë pour l'ordinaire; mais que ſubitement vn vaiſſeau pour entrer dans vn fleuue enjambe par dominatiõ trente fois plus loin, qu'il ne peut eſtendre ſa veuë; c'eſt vouloir auoir les bras, ou pluſtoſt la conuoitiſe bien monſtrueuſe, mais poſons que cela ſe puiſſe faire.

limits of old Canada, they are holding themselves at large with plenty of elbow room, giving us our share at their good pleasure. Now this is how we would answer them according to law:

1. In the first place, as by an admirable providence of God, their own Royal patents, upon which they found their claims, contradict them in their pretensions. Because it is said expressly in these, [324 i.e., 326] with specific exception: *We give them all the lands up to the 45th degree, which do not actually belong to any Christian Prince.* Now it happens that at the time of the date of these letters, the King of France actually and really possessed the said lands at least up to the 39th degree. Every one knows this through the voyages of Champlain, for he relates in these that, in the year 1607, sieur de Monts was at port Royal, and, through his people and authority, ruled all the country to the 39th degree as Lieutenant of his most Christian Majesty.

2. Again, if the English wish to say that they did not begin to take possession of their Virginia from the year 1607 only, but from the year 1594, when they discovered it (as we have said), we answer that the river, which they began [325 i.e., 327] then to possess [the James river], is in latitude 36 degrees, and that this their claim might perchance be of some value, if it were only a question of retaining this said river, and seven or eight leagues on either side of it, for our eyes can generally reach as far as that; but that a ship, merely because it had entered a river, should claim dominion thirty times farther than the eye can reach — this is wishing to have arms, or rather greediness, indeed monstrous. But let us suppose it could be done.

Il s'enſuiura donc, que Ribaud & Laudoniere eſtans allez à la Floride en tres-bel arroy, par authorité du Roy Charles IX. l'an 1564. 1565. & 1566. pour cultiuer le païs; & y ayant edifié la Caroline au 30. degré d'eleuation: ils prindrent poſſeſſion iuſques au 38. & [326 i.e., 328] 39. degré, & par ainſi voila les Anglois hors de leur Virginie, ſuiuãt leurs propres maximes.

3. Quoy que, ſi pour eſtre en vn lieu, lon poſſede auſſi toſt (ſelon la preſuppoſition des Anglois) huict ou neuf degrez plus auant; Pourquoy eſt-ce, qu'eux eſtants au 36. auanceront pluſtoſt iuſques au 45. que nous (comme ils confeſſent) eſtans ja au 46. ne deſcendrons iuſques au 37. Quel droict y ont-ils plus que nous? Voila donc ce que nous reſpondons aux Anglois.

4. Mais pour mieux declarer le fonds de noſtre iuſtice; il faut ſe reſſouuenir de ce que nous auons monſtré cy-deuant; ſçauoir eſt, que ſa Majeſté tres-Chreſtienne a prins poſſeſſion de ces terres, auant tout autre Prince Chreſtiẽ, par droict d'inuention premiere. Car il eſt aſſeuré, & confeſſé de [327 i.e., 329] tous, que les Bretons & Normãds trouuerent premierement le grãd Banq, & les Terres Neufues, rangeants la coſte iuſques au Cap de Sable, qui eſt au 43. degré, iuſques où le grand Banq s'eſtend. Ceſte inuention fut faicte l'an 1504. il y ja cent & dix ans.

5. D'auantage tous confeſſent, que par le commandement du grãd Roy François Iean Verazan print poſſeſſion de ceſdictes terres au nom de la France; commençant dés le 33. degré d'eleuation iuſques au

It will follow, then, that Ribaud and Laudoniere,[12] — having gone to Florida in fine array by the authority of King Charles IX., in the years 1564, 1565, and 1566, to cultivate the land, and there having extended Carolina to the 30th parallel of north latitude,— took possession as far as the 38th and [326 i.e., 328] 39th parallels; and so behold the English out of their Virginia according to their own maxims.

3. Yet if being in a place gives possession (as the English presuppose) of eight or nine degrees farther on, why is it that they, being at the 36th, can advance to the 45th, better than we (as they acknowledge) being at the 46th, can go down to the 37th? What greater rights have they than we? So thus we answer the English.

4. But to better declare the justice of our cause, what we have explained above must be recalled; namely, that his most Christian Majesty took possession of these lands before any other Christian Prince, by right of first discovery. For it is true, and is acknowledged by [327 i.e., 329] all, that the Bretons and Normans first discovered the great Bank, and Newfoundland, sailing along the coast to Cape Sable, which is in the 43rd degree, up to where the great Bank extends. This discovery was made in the year 1504, one hundred and ten years ago.

5. Furthermore, all acknowledge that, by the command of the great King Francis, Jean Verazan took possession of these countries in the name of France, beginning at the 33rd degree of north latitude up to the 47th. This was done in two voyages, the last of which was made in the year 1523, ninety years ago.

6. In addition to this, Jacques Cartier[13] first entered the great river in two voyages that he made,

47. Ce fut par deux voyages deſquels le dernier fut faict l'an 1523. il y a quatre vingts & dix ans.

6. Outre plus, Iacques Cartier entra premier dans la grande riuiere par deux voyages, qu'il y fut, & deſcouurit les terres de Canada. Son dernier voyage fut l'an 1534. Donc c'eſt merueille [328 i.e., 330] que les Anglois nous accordent les terres de la deſcouuerture de Iacques Cartier, nous voulants oſter le 45. degré: car il eſt aſſeuré, que ceſte deſcouuerture eſt de beaucoup poſterieure aux autres cy-deuant dictes des parties plus meridionales. Et la grande riuiere eſt tellement ſituee, que la poſſeſſion de ſes terres eſt preſque inutile à qui ne tiẽt du moins iuſques au 40. degré. Qu'on regarde la charte.

7. Auſſi eſt-ce merueille comme leſdicts Anglois diſent nous accorder les Terres Neufues, & cependant ils y ſont allez habiter deſpuis quatre ans, enuiron le 48. ou 49. degré.

8. Or eſt-ce le commun conſentement de toute l'Europe, que de depeindre la nouuelle France, l'eſtendant au moins iuſques au 38. ou 39. degré, ainſi qu'il appert [329 i.e., 331] par les mappemondes, imprimées en Eſpagne, Italie, Holande, Allemagne, & Angleterre meſme. Ce ſont auſſi les François, qui en ont faict deſcription, ont impoſé les noms, ont appriuoiſez les Sauuages, ont trocqué, & touſiours conuerſé auec eux dés la premiere inuention iuſques à ce temps, & non point autres. Et ce fut au quarante troiſieſme degré, que le Marquis de la Roche s'alla loger, dreſſant ſa peuplade l'an 1598. Et deſpuis l'an 1603. le ſieur de Mõts receut en don toutes ces terres dés le 40. degré iuſques au 46. de feu d'heureuſe memoire Henry le Grand, lequel auſſi declara par lettres expreſſes, que rien de ce qu'on apportoit de là, ou

and discovered the lands of Canada. His last voyage was in the year 1534. Now it is a wonder [328 i.e., 330] that the English grant us the lands of Jacques Cartier's discovery, wishing as they do to deprive us of the 45th degree; for it is very certain that this discovery dates back much farther than the others heretofore cited of the more southern parts. And the great river is so situated that the possession of these lands is almost useless to any one who does not possess at least as far as the 40th degree. Look at the map.

7. Also it is wonderful how these English say they have granted us Newfoundland, and nevertheless went there to live four years ago, near the 48th or 49th degree.[14]

8. Now, by the common consent of all Europe, new France is represented as extending at least as far as the 38th or 39th degree, as it appears [329 i.e., 331] on the maps of the world printed in Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany, and England itself.[15] Also, it is the French, and not others, who have made a description of it, have given it its names, have tamed the Savages, have traded and always had communication with them from the first discovery up to the present time. And it was in the forty-third degree that the Marquis de la Roche went to settle, establishing his colony in the year 1598.[13] And, since the year 1603, sieur de Monts received as a gift all the lands from the 40th degree to the 46th degree, from the late Henry the Great, of happy memory, who also declared by express letters, that nothing which was brought away from there, or taken there, was liable to foreign custom duty, as that country was a just part and legitimate outgrowth of this Kingdom, and in no wise a foreign one.

qu'on y emportoit ne deuoit traicte foraine, comme eſtant ce païs vne partie iuſte, & legitime accreüe à ce Royaume, & nullemẽt eſtrãgere.

[330 i.e., 332] 9 Et certes, outre les raiſons apportées, l'equité naturelle fauoriſe à ceſte declaration; parce que ces terres là ſont paralleles à noſtre France, & non point à l'Angleterre. Elles ſont dy-ie tout d'vne tenuë auecques nous: de maniere, qu'ayant eſté trouuées vaquãtes par nous au delà de noſtre riuage; elles accroiſſent à noſtre heritage, ainſi que la loy des Alluuions en determine. *ff. acq. rer. domin. l.* 29. *inter multos. & l.* 30. *Ergo.*

10. En effect, feu Monſieur le Comte de Soyſſons fut pourueu du gouuernement deſdites contrées, & en a porté le tiltre de ſon viuant; & auiourd'huy Monſieur le Prince met ceſte là au rang de ſes autres prerogatiues, & principaux honneurs.

[330 i.e., 332] 9. And surely, in addition to the reasons here given, common justice favors this declaration; for those lands are parallel to our France, and not to England. They are, I say, contiguous with us, so that having been found unoccupied by us and beyond our shores they accrue to our inheritance, as the law of Alluvions determines. *ff. acq. rer. domin. l.* 29. *inter multos. & l.* 30. *Ergo.*[16]

10. Finally the late Comte de Soyssons was invested with the government of the said countries,[17] and bore the title to it in his lifetime; and to-day the Prince places this in the rank of his other prerogatives and principal honors.[18]

CHAPITRE XXXVIII. [i.e., xxxvii.]

[331 i.e., 333] RAISONS POUR LESQUELLES ON DEUROIT ENTREPRENDRE À BON ESCIENT LE CULTIUAGE DE LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

ICY deuant que finir, ie ſuis contrainct de cotter aucunes raiſons qui m'eſmeuuent l'ame, quand ie conſidere comme nous delaiſſons ceſte pauure nouuelle Frãce en friſche, & quant au temporel, & quant au ſpirituel, en barbarie, & paganiſme. Ie ſçay prou, que ie profite biẽ plus de les alleguer aux oreilles de noſtre Seigneur par feruente priere; que de les marquer aux yeux des hommes par eſcriture morte. Neantmoins tant plus ardamment ie m'eſcrie deuãt Dieu en les peſant, tant plus ie me ſens [332 i.e., 334] preſſé à les ſpecifier aux hommes, les eſcriuant.

Et premierement, ſi lon conſidere le temporel, c'eſt vne autre France en influence, & condition du ciel, & des elements: en eſtenduë de pays dix ou douze fois plus grande, ſi nous voulons: en qualité, auſſi bonne, ſi elle eſt cultiuée, du moins, il n'y a point d'apparence qu'elle doiue eſtre pire; en ſituation; à l'autre bord de noſtre riuage, pour nous donner la ſcience, & la ſeigneurie de la mer, & nauigage; ie dy mille biens, & vtilitez. En vn mot, quãd ie dy vne autre France, & vne autre Eſpagne à cultiuer.

2. En apres, les tentatiues, que nous auons ja faict tant de fois dés cent, & dix ans, nous obligent à con-

CHAPTER XXXVIII. [i.e., xxxvii.]

[331 i.e., 333] REASONS WHY THE CULTIVATION OF NEW FRANCE OUGHT TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN EARNEST.

HERE, before finishing, I am obliged to set down some reasons which agitate my soul, when I consider how we are letting this poor new France lie fallow, both as to the temporal and the spiritual, in savagery and paganism. I know well that I may accomplish much more by advancing these reasons to the ear of our Lord in earnest prayer, than by presenting them to the eyes of men in cold letters. Nevertheless, the more ardently I cry to God in considering them, so much the more I feel myself [332 i.e., 334] urged to specify them to men in writing.

And first, if the temporal is considered, this country is another France in the influences and conditions of the heavens and of the elements; in extent of country, ten or twelve times larger, if you wish; in quality, as good if it be cultivated, at least there is no reason why it should be worse; in situation, upon the shore opposite to ours, to give us the knowledge and mastery of the sea, and of navigation; I say there are a thousand blessings and advantages. In a word, as it were, another France and another Spain to be cultivated.

2. Next, the attempts which we have already made so many times for a hundred and ten years, oblige us

ſtance; ſi nous ne voulons auec la mocquerie des eſtrangers perdre encores le fruict de [333 i.e., 335] tant de temps conſumé, & des pertes de tant & d'hommes, & de biens, qu'il a conuenu faire pour acquerir la cognoiſſance de ces terres, Coſtes, Golfes, & diuers endroits, laquelle (Dieu mercy) nous auons acquis auec la bienvueillance, & familiarité du peuple. Peuple debonnaire, qui nous tend les mains auec vn deſir incroyable, & vne douleur bien grande de nous y voir maſtinés; non pour autre raiſon, ſinon que les entreprinſes, qui ont eſté faictes iuſques à maintenant, ayant eſté quaſi ſouſtenuës par des particuliers; il n'eſt pas de merueille s'ils ont ſuccombé au faix, & aux frais, qu'vne telle œuure requiert.

3. Que ſi nous nous laſſons, ou languiſſons, nous auons deuant les yeux prou d'autres, qui nous ont monſtré d'auoir courage. Et certes en cas que nous n'y faiſions [334 i.e., 336] noſtre deuoir, il n'y a point de raiſon d'empeſcher autruy. Conſiderons donc ſi cela nous eſt fort aduantageux de perdre le profit, que rapportent de ces contrées to⁹ les ans plus de cinq cẽs de nos nauires, qui y vont, ſoit à la peſche des baleines, ſoit à celle des moluës & autres poiſſons, ſoit à la traicte, de la pelleterie des Caſtors, Elans, Martres, Loups marins, Loutres, &c. Car il ne faut pas attendre d'y auoir part, ſi d'autres faiſiſſent le domaine, ainſi qu'a bien declaré ces annees la diſpute arriuée à Spitsbergen, & autrepart.

4. Voila pour le temporel: mais pour le ſpirituel, auquel l'indicible, grace de Dieu nous ſurhauſſe iuſques au ſurnom & gloire de tres-Chreſtiens. Calculons & ſupputons les benefices qui nous accompaignent & obligent [335 i.e., 337] inceſſamment en

to continue, unless we wish, to the scorn of strangers, to yet lose the fruit of [333 i.e., 335] so much time consumed, and to suffer the loss both of so many men and so much wealth, as has been necessary in acquiring a knowledge of these lands, Coasts, Gulfs and different places, which (thank God) we have obtained, as well as the good will and intimacy of the people,— a gentle people, who extend to us their hands with an incredible longing, and with a profound grief to see us defeated,— for no other reason than that the enterprises which have been undertaken up to the present, having been almost entirely sustained by private individuals, have sunk — and it is not to be wondered at — under the burden and the expenses, which such a work requires.

3. If we give up or become indifferent, we have before our eyes many others, who have shown us that they have courage. And certainly, in case we did not do [334 i.e., 336] our duty, there is nothing to prevent others from doing theirs. Now let us consider whether it is very advantageous to lose the profit, which is brought from these countries every year by more than five hundred of our ships, which go there, either on whaling expeditions, or for cod and other fish, or for trade in furs of the Beaver, Elk, Marten, Seal, Otter, etc.[19] For we must not expect to have any share in this, if others seize the property, as has been very clearly shown during these years by the disputes which occurred at Spitsbergen and elsewhere.

4. So much for the temporal; but as to the spiritual, in which the inexpressible grace of God raises us to the surname and glory of "most Christian," let us calculate and sum up the benefits which accom-

ſuite de ce premier la vocation à l'Egliſe Saincte & cognoiſſance de noſtre Sauueur Ieſus-Christ; & lors nous pourrons ſommer combien grande ſeroit l'ingratitude, & combiẽ horrible chaſtiment elle porteroit encroupe, ſi nous ne taſchions de faire priſer ceſte grace, la communiquant à nos proches à la proportion de nos moyens, & redeuances. Tel chaſtiment a eſté ſagement remarqué par le venerable Bede. Car quelque peu auant ſon aage, les Eſcoſſois furent illuſtrés de diuine lumiere, à ce qu'ils ſe recogneuſſent eſtre tombés en hereſie par illuſion, & meſgarde: là où les Bretons, ou ceux de la Prouince de Galles, furent precipités en l'abyſme, & tenebres des faux-bourgs d'Enfer, les hereſies, deſquels deux effects ſi contraires, & ſi oppoſés ce grand Sainct, [336 i.e., 338] & cognoiſſant veritable des œuures de la prouidence, & Iuſtice Eternelle; en rapporte les cauſes à deux diſpoſitions diuerſes de l'vn, & l'autre peuple. Parce, dit-il, que les Eſcoſſois auoyent aumoſné aux Anglois auparauant par grande charité, & deuotion ce qu'ils auoyent reçeu de la verité Euangelique; & partant Dieu leur volut faire miſericorde à meſure comble, & entaſſee, leur ouurant les yeux, pour y ſe voir deceus, & trompés. Là où les Bretons, ſoit par negligence, ſoit par autre intemperie d'ame, ne s'eſtoient guieres ſouciez de voir leſdicts Anglois perir miſerablement en leur infidelité; Et partant meriterent cõme ſeruiteurs ingrats de perdre le talent de la foy Catholique, lequel ils n'auoyent daigné mettre à profit, & d'autruy, & d'eux meſmes. O que [337 i.e., 339] de choſes nous aurions à penſer, & dire ſur ce ſujet.

Mais ſoit aſſez d'auoir au deuant de nos yeux que ces pauures peuples, ces images de noſtre Dieu comme

pany and favor us [335 i.e., 337] continually after this first one, which is our calling to the Holy Church and knowledge of our Savior, Jesus Christ; and then we shall be able to estimate how great would be our ingratitude, and how horrible the chastisement it would bring with it, if we do not try to enhance the value of this grace by communicating it to our fellow-men in proportion to our means and opportunities. Such chastisement has been wisely commented upon by the venerable Bede. For, shortly before his age, the Scotch were illuminated by a divine light, so that they saw themselves fallen into heterodoxy by delusions and inadvertence; while the Bretons, or those people of the Province of Wales, were cast into the abyss and shadows of the outskirts of Hell, the heresies; of these two so contrary and opposite effects this great and Saintly Man, [336 i.e., 338] so truly acquainted with the works of providence and Eternal Justice, attributes the causes to the two different dispositions of the two nations. "For," says he, "the Scotch had previously given to the English, through great charity and devotion, what they had received of Evangelical truth; and therefore God wished to show them mercy in a full and overflowing measure, opening their eyes that they might see themselves deceived and mistaken. While the Bretons, either through negligence or other lack of spiritual moderation, were quite indifferent when they saw the English perishing miserably in their infidelity; therefore they deserved, as ungrateful servants, to lose the talent of the Catholic faith, which they had not deigned to profit by, either for others or for themselves." Oh, what [337 i.e., 339] food there is for reflection and discourse upon this subject!

nous, & capables de ſa iouyſſance, ces conſorts de noſtre eſpece, & preſque de meſme qualité auec nous, ſont ſur le bord de l'horrible gouffre des feux infernaux, voire pluſieurs centaines d'iceux precipitez chaque iour dans les peines eternelles, & abyſmes de damnation, ſans eſpoir de deliurance. O Dieu! nous nous eſtonnons de ces iugements eſpouuentables; comme il y a bien dequoy s'eſtonner; mais nous n'auons pas le ſens pour apperceuoir, ny l'entendemẽt pour recognoiſtre, que le ſang de ceſte ſi cruelle exequution eſt deſſus nos mains, qui ne nous euertuons pas de l'empeſcher: deſſus nos [338 i.e., 340] pieds, qui ne nous remuons point pour y remedier; deſſus nos maiſons, qui les baſtiſſons tant ſuperbement, ſans nous ſoucier de l'eternelle demeure de nos freres; deſſus nos bourſes, nos poſſeſſiõs, nos moyens, & noſtre cœur qui ſommes ſi peu eſmeus de tels ſpectacles & contribuons ſi peu, là où le Fils de Dieu, noſtre Sauueur, n'a point eſpargné ſa vie. Plaiſe luy nous faire miſericorde, & receuoir de nous, & de toute creature loüange, & benediction, à tous les ſiecles des ſiecles. Ainſi ſoit-il.

FIN.

But let it be enough to keep before our eyes the vision of these poor natives, these images of our God as we are, and as capable of enjoying him, these companions of our own species, and almost of the same quality as we, who are upon the edge of the horrible gulf of the fires of hell, many of them even precipitated every day into eternal torments, and profound depths of everlasting punishment, without hope of deliverance. O God! we are amazed at these frightful judgments, as there is much in them to cause our amazement; but we have not the sense to perceive, nor the understanding to appreciate, that the blood of this so cruel execution is upon our hands, who do not exert ourselves to prevent it; upon our [338 i.e., 340] feet, which do not move to remedy it; upon our houses, which we build so magnificently without caring for the eternal dwellings of our brothers; upon our purses, our possessions, our wealth, and our hearts, which are so little moved by such spectacles and contribute so little to that for which the Son of God, our Savior, did not spare even his life. May it please him to grant us mercy, and to receive from us and from all his creatures, praises and blessings forever and ever. Amen.

END.

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M. COYSSARD.

XV—XVII

Three Letters by Charles Lalemant

XV.— Au Sievr de Champlain ; Kebec, Juillet 28, 1625

XVI.— Au R. P. Prouincial des RR. Pères Recollects ; Kebec, Juillet 28, 1625

XVII.— Epistola ad Præpositum Generalem ; Nova Francia, Augustus 1, [1626]

SOURCE: Documents XV. and XVI., are reprinted from Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636), pp. 868-870. In Document XVII., we follow Father Felix Martin's apograph (now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal) of the original Latin MS. in the Archives of the Gesù, Rome.

Lettre du R. P. Charles Lallemant Superievr des Miſſions en Canada au Sievr de Champlain.

[868] MONSIEVR,

Nous voicy graces à Dieu dans le reſort de voſtre Lieutenance où nous ſommes heureuſement arriuez, aprés auoir eu vne des belles trauerſes [869] *qu'on aye encor experimenté. Monſieur le General aprés nous auoir declaré qu'il luy eſtoit impoſsible de nous loger ou dans l'habitation où dans le fort, & qu'il faudroit ou, repaſſer en France, ou nous retirer chez les Peres Recollects, nous a contrainct d'accepter ce dernier offre. Les Peres nous ont receus auec tant de charité qu'il nous ont obligez pour vn iamais. Noſtre Seigneur ſera leur recompence. Vn de nos Peres eſtoit allé à la traicte en intention de paſſer aux Hurons ou aux Hiroquois, auec le Pere Recollect qui eſt venu de Frãce, ſelon qu'ils aduiſeroient auec le Pere Nicolas, qui ſe deuoit treuuer à la traicte & conferer auec eux, mais il eſt arriué que le pauure Pere Nicolas au dernier ſaut s'eſt noyé, ce qui a eſté cauſe qu'ils ſont retournez, n'ayans ny cognoiſſance, ny langue, ny information: nous attendons donc voſtre venuë, pour reſoudre ce qui ſera à propos de faire. Vous ſçaurez tout ce que vous pourrez deſirer de ce pays du P. Ioſeph, c'eſt pourquoy ie me contente de vous aſſeurer que ie ſuis,*

Monſieur, Voſtre tres-affectionné ſeruiteur,

Charles Lalemant.

De Kebec ce 28. *Iuillet* 1625.

Letter from the Reverend Father Charles Lallemant,[20] Superior of the Missions in Canada, to Sieur de Champlain.

[868] *SIR,*

Thanks to God, here we are in the district of your Lieutenancy, where we arrived after having one of the most successful voyages [869] *ever yet experienced. Monsieur the General,*[21] *after having told us that it was impossible to give us lodging either in the settlement or in the fort, and that we must either return to France, or withdraw to the Recollect Fathers'* [22] *obliged us to accept the latter offer. The Fathers received us with so much charity, that we feel forever under obligations to them. Our Lord will be their reward. One of our Fathers, together with the Recollect Father who came from France,*[23] *went to the trading station*[24] *with the intention of going to the Hurons or to the Hiroquois, as they should think best after consulting Father Nicolas, who was to be at this station to confer with them. But it happened that poor Father Nicolas was drowned in the last of the rapids,*[25] *for which reason they returned, as they knew no one there, and had no knowledge of the language or of the country. We are therefore awaiting your arrival, to determine what it will be well to do. You will hear all you wish to know of this country from Father Joseph,*[26] *therefore I am content to assure you that I am,*

Sir, Your very affectionate servant,

Charles Lalemant.

Kebec, this 28th of July, 1625.

Lettre du R. P. Charles Lallemant Superievr des Miſſions en Canada au R. P. Prouincial des RR. Pères Recollects.

MON REUEREND PERE,
Pax Chriſti.

Ce ſeroit eſtre par trop meſcognoiſſant de ne point eſcrire à voſtre Reuerence, pour la remercier, tant des lettres qui furent dernierement eſcrites en noſtre faueur aux Peres qui ſont icy en [870] *la nouuelle France, comme de la charité que nous auons receues deſdits Peres, qui nous ont obligez pour vn iamais, ie ſupplie noſtre bon Dieu qu'il ſoit la grande recompence & des vns & des autres, pour mon particulier i'eſcris à nos Superieurs, que i'en ay vn tel reſſentiment que l'occaſion ne ſe preſentera point que ie ne le faſſe paroiſtre, & les ſupplie quoy que d'ailleurs bien affectionnez de teſmoigner à tout voſtre ſainct Ordre le meſme reſſentiment. Le P. Ioſeph dira à voſtre Reuerence le ſuiet de ſon voyage pour le bon ſuccez duquel, nous ne ceſſerons d'offrir & prieres & ſacrifices à Dieu, il faut ceſte fois aduancer à bon eſcient les affaires de noſtre Maiſtre, & ne rien obmettre de ce qu'on pourra s'aduiſer eſtre neceſſaire, i'en ay eſcrit à tous ceux que i'ay creu y pouuoir contribuer que ie m'aſſeure s'y emploieront ſi les affaires de France le permettent, ie ne doute point que voſtre Reuerence ne s'y porte auec affection, & ainſi* virtus vnita, *fera beaucoup d'effet, en attendant le*

Letter from the Reverend Father Charles Lallemant, Superior of the Missions of Canada, to the Reverend Father Provincial of the Reverend Recollect Fathers.

MY REVERENDE FATHER:

The peace of Christ be with you.

It would be altogether too ungrateful not to write to your Reverence to thank you, both for the letters which were recently written in our behalf to the Fathers who are here in [870] *new France, and for the kindness which we have received from these Fathers, who have placed us under everlasting obligations to them. I pray our good Lord that he may be an ample recompense for both. As to me, I write to our Superiors that I am so grateful for this that I shall lose no opportunity to show my appreciation of it; and I implore them, although they are already very much attached to your Fathers, to express the same gratitude to all your holy Order. Father Joseph will tell your Reverence the purpose of his voyage,*[27] *for the success of which we shall not cease to offer prayers and sacrifices to God. The affairs of our Master must be advanced in earnest this time, and nothing must be omitted which may be deemed necessary. I have written to all of those who, I thought, could contribute to this enterprise, and who, I believe, will occupy themselves with it, the affairs of France permitting. I do not doubt that your Reverence will take an interest in the work, and thus* virtus unita *will achieve good results. In awaiting our success, I com-*

ſuccez ie me recommande aux ſaincts Sacrifices de voſtre Reuerence, de laquelle ie ſuis.

De Kebec ce 28. Iuillet
1625.

Tres-humble feruiteur
Charles Lalemant.

A mon Reuerend Pere le P. Prouincial
des RR. Peres Recollects.

mend myself to the holy Sacrifices of your Reverence, of whom I am,

Kebec, this 28th of July,
1625.

The very humble servant,
Charles Lalemant.

To my Reverend Father, the Father Provincial
of the Reverend Recollect Fathers.

Epistola Patris Caroli Lalemant Superioris Missionis Canadensis ad Reverendissimum Patrem Mutium Vitelleschi, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ.

(Transcripsit Pater Felix Martinus ex codice Latino qui in Archivis Jesu, Romæ, conservatur).

Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater.
Pax Christi.

Non miretur Paternitas vestra si nullas a postremis, hoc est ab anno litteras habuerit a nobis, adeo enim remoti sumus a littore maris, ut semel duntaxat singulis annis visitemur a Gallis et quidem ab iis tantum quibus libera est ad nos navigatio, nam cæteris est interdicta; quo fit ut si casu aliquo perirent naves illæ onerariæ vel certe a prædonibus caperentur, ab una Dei providentia expectanda essent alimenta quibus vitam sustentare possemus; a barbaris enim hominibus vix necessaria ad vitam habentibus nihil sperandum, sed qui hactenus providit Gallis, hic jam tot annis commorantibus et nihil nisi lucrum temporale quærentibus non deerit suis uni Dei gloriæ et animarum saluti invigilantibus. Hoc igitur anno toti pene fuimus in perdiscendo barbaro idiomate, uno aut altero mense excepto quibus terram coluimus unde tenuem nobis victum comparare utcumque possemus. Pater Joannes Brebeuf vir et pius et prudens et cor-

Letter from Father Charles Lalemant, Superior of the Missions of Canada, to the Very Reverend Father Mutio Vitelleschi,[28] General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

(Transcribed by Father Felix Martin from the original Latin MS., preserved in the Archives of the Gesù, Rome.)

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST:

The peace of Christ be with you.

Your Paternity need not be surprised to have received no letters from us during the year since our last; for we are so remote from the sea-coast that we are visited only once a year by French vessels, and then only by those to whom navigation hither is allowed, for to others it is interdicted; so that, if by any mischance those merchant ships should be wrecked, or be taken by pirates,[29] we could look to Divine providence alone for our daily bread. For from the savages, who have scarcely the necessaries of life for themselves, nothing is to be hoped; but he who has hitherto provided for the needs of the French, who have dwelt here so many years only with a view to temporal gain, will not abandon his faithful ones who seek only the glory of God and the salvation of souls. During the past year we have devoted ourselves almost entirely to learning the dialect of the savages, excepting a month or two spent in cultivating the soil, in order to obtain such slight means of subsistence as we could. Father Jean Brebeuf,[30] a pious and prudent man, and of a robust con-

pore robustus acerbum hyemis tempus cum barbaris transegit, unde maximam peregrinæ linguæ cognitionem hausit ; nos interim ab interpretibus licet maxime alienis a communicando barbaro hoc idiomate obtinuimus, præter spem et expectationem omnium, quod sperare poteramus. Sed hæc sunt tantum gemini idiomatis rudimenta, multo plura supersunt. Ad multiplicationem quippe nationum multiplicantur idiomata; ac terram hanc longe lateque diffusam incolunt quinquaginta ut minimum nationes, ingens sane campus in quo nostra excurrat industria; messis multa operarii pauci qui tamen eo sunt animo, per Dei gratiam, ut nullis terreantur difficultatibus, quamvis fructus spes magna nondum affulgeat, adeo rudes sunt incolæ et proxime at bestias accedentes. Certe hoc unum solatur nos quod Deus optimus, maximus, in repetenda mercede, fructus non tam sit habiturus rationem quam voluntatis nostræ et laboris impensi, modo grata sit ipsi hæc nostra qualiscumque voluntas, non est quod male locatam operam nostram existimemus: nullus ergo alius hoc anno fructus quam loci, personarum et idiomatis duarum nationum cognitio, si barbarorum ratio habeatur, nam Gallis nostris qui tres hic tantum supra quadraginta numerantur præsto fuimus, quorum generales totius vitæ confessiones audivimus, habita prius exhortatione de ejus confessionis necessitate, singulis præterea mensibus geminam ad eos concionem habuimus; his majora dabit sequens annus Deo bene juvante et to-

stitution, passed the sharp winter season among the savages, acquiring a very considerable knowledge of this strange tongue. We, meantime, learning from interpreters who were very unwilling to communicate their knowledge, made as much progress as we could hope, contrary to the expectation of all. But these are only the rudiments of two languages; many more remain. For the languages are multiplied with the number of the tribes; and this land, extending so far in every direction, is inhabited by at least fifty different tribes, truly an immense field for our zeal. The harvest is great, the laborers are few; but they have, by God's grace, a courage undaunted by any obstacles, although the promise of success is not yet very great, so rude and almost brutish are the natives. We have, truly, this one consolation, that God in his goodness and power, in the distribution of his rewards will not so much consider our success as our good will and our efforts. Provided only that our desires, such as they may be, be pleasing in his sight, we shall have no reason for deeming our efforts misspent. Our labors this year have had no further fruit than a knowledge of the country, of the natives, and of the dialects of two tribes, if the savages alone be considered. As regards the French, whose number does not exceed forty-three, we have not been negligent. We have heard their general confessions, relating to their whole past life, after first holding an exhortation on the necessity of this confession. Each month, moreover, we have preached two sermons to them. To these efforts the following year will add still greater ones, if God help and promote our enterprise as he has done hitherto.

tum hoc negotium ut hactenus fecit promovente.

Valent nostri omnes, per Dei gratiam. . . . . Vix unus utitur linteis cum decumbit. Quod superest nobis temporis a propria et proximorum salute id totum in excolenda terra insumitur. Longe alia fuissent virtutum incrementa, si alium Nostri non desiderassent superiorem. Facile est Paternitati Vestræ remedium adhibere, longe melius obsequentis quam imperantis personam sustineo. Dabit hoc mihi ut bene spero Paternitas Vestra a qua id, qua possum animi demissione, peto, nec hujus remedii defectu remorabitur diutius alacritatem nostrorum in augendis virtutibus. E Gallia missi sunt ad nos hoc anno operarii primum hic domicilium Societatis erecturi quod omnino necessarium indicavimus propter Gallos nostros hic commorantes et nusquam alibi. Erigentur postea in aliis nationibus in quibus major speratur fructus. Certas enim et statas sedes habent, ad eas brevi missuri sumus unum e nostris vel duos potius, nimirum Patrem Joannem de Brebeuf et Patrem Annam de Noue, quorum missio si succedat lætissimus aperitur Evangelio campus; barbarorum opera eo deducendi sunt, neque enim aliis vectoribus uti possunt. Cum bona superiorum venia redit in Galliam Pater Philibertus Noyrot, hoc totum negotium ut hactenus fecit promoturus. Indiget Paternitatis Vestræ auctoritate ut libere possit agere cum iis qui res nostras curant. Facessunt ipsi aliquid negotii Lutetiæ Patres nostri, nescio quam ob rem, nonnihil videntur

We are, God be thanked, all well. . . . . Hardly one of us uses bed-linen when he sleeps. All our time that is not devoted to seeking the salvation of our fellow-men and of ourselves is occupied in tilling the soil. Far greater would be our growth in virtue, if another of Our Brothers were not more desirable as superior. This it is easy for Your Paternity to remedy, as I feel myself far better fitted for obedience than for command. I truly hope that Your Paternity, from whom I ask it with all possible submission, will grant me this, and will not longer hinder, for lack of this remedy, the eagerness of our brethren to increase their virtues. Some workmen have been sent to us this year from France, to construct the first dwelling of the Society here, which we considered as quite indispensable on account of our French, who settle here and nowhere else. Others will be built later among other tribes from whom we expect greater results. To those that have fixed settlements we shall in a short time send one of our number or rather two; Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Anne de Noue.[31] If their mission is successful, a most promising field will be opened for the Gospel. They must be taken there by the savages, for they can not use any other boatmen. With consent of his superiors, Father Philibert Noyrot[32] returns to France to promote as hitherto the interests of our enterprise. He stands in need of the influence of Your Paternity in order to negotiate freely with those who have charge of our affairs. Our own Fathers at Paris, for some reason, put difficulties in our way, and seem rather unfriendly to our mission; so that, but for the favor of Father Cotton,[33] of blessed memory, our affairs would have fallen to the ground. . . . .

alieni ab hac missione, cui nisi favisset bonæ memoriæ Pater Cottonus omnino jacuissent res nostræ. . . . Verum quia rediturus est ineunte vere Pater Noyrot, omnino alius e nostris erit necessarius Lutetiæ vel Rothomagi qui in ipsius locum sufficiatur et rerum nostrarum curam suscipiat, necessaria singulis annis mittat et litteras nostras accipiat; si tamen ita judicaverit Paternitas Vestra. Septem ergo hic residui erimus. Patres quatuor: P. Enemundus Masse, admonitor et confessarius, P. Joannes de Brebeuf, P. Annas de Noue et ego. Coadjutores vero tres: Gilbertus Burel, Joannes Goffestre et Franciscus Charreton, parati omnes ad quosvis labores pro Dei gloria suscipiendos. Sanctissimis Paternitatis Vestræ Sacrificiis commendant se omnes.

P. V. filius humillimus

Carolus Lalemant.

E Nova Francia

Cal. Aug.

As Father Noyrot is to return at the beginning of spring, another of our members will be absolutely necessary at Paris, or at Rouen, to fill his place and to look after our interests, sending us yearly what supplies we need, and receiving our letters, if Your Paternity so decide. There thus remain seven of us here; four priests, Father Enemond Masse,[34] as admonitor and confessor, Father Jean de Brebeuf, Father Anne de Noue, and myself; and three lay brothers, Gilbert Burel, Jean Goffestre, and François Charreton, all of us ready to undertake any labors whatsoever for the glory of God. We all commend ourselves to the Most Holy Sacrifices of Your Paternity.

Your Paternity's most humble son
Charles Lalemant.

New France,
August 1st.

XVIII

Charles Lalemant's

Lettre au Hierosme l'Allemant

Kebec, Aouſt 1, 1626

Paris: JEAN BOUCHER, 1627

Source: Title-page and text reprinted from original in Lenox Library.

LETTRE
DV PERE
CHARLES
L'ALLEMANT
SVPERIEVR DE LA MISsion de Canadas, de la Compagnie de IESVS.

Enuoyee au Pere Hierosme l'Allemant son frere, de la mesme Compagnie

Où sont contenus les mœurs & façons de viure des Sauuages habitans de ce païs là; & comme ils se comportent auec les Chrestiens François qui y demeurent.

Ensemble la description des villes de ceste contree.

A PARIS,
Par IEAN BOVCHER, ruë des Amandiers à la Verité Royale. 1627.

LETTER
FROM FATHER
CHARLES
L'ALLEMANT
SUPERIOR OF THE MISsion of the Canadas; of the Society of JESUS.

Sent to Father Jerome l'Allemant, his brother, of the same Society

In which are contained the manners and customs of the Savages inhabiting that country; and on what terms they live with the French Christians who reside there.

Together with the description of the towns of that country.

PARIS,
JEAN BOUCHER, ruë des Amandiers
Verité Royale. 1627.

[1 i.e., 3] Lettre dv Pere Charles L'Allemant Superieur de la Miſſion de Canadas, de la Compagnie de Iesvs. Au Pere Hieroſme l'Allemant ſon frere.

Pax Chriſti.

I'ESCRIVIS l'an paſſé à Voſtre Reuerence (enuiron la my-Iuillet) le ſuccés de noſtre voyage; depuis ce temps ie n'ay peu vous eſcrire, à cauſe que les vaiſſeaux n'abordent icy qu'vne fois l'an. C'eſt pourquoy il ne faut attendre des nouuelles de nous que d'annee en annee: Et ſi ces vaiſſeaux venoient vne fois à manquer, ce ſeroit bien merueille ſi vous en receuiez deuant deux ans; outre qu'il nous faudroit ceſte annee attendre de l'vnique prouidence de Dieu les choſes neceſſaires à l'entretien de ceſte vie. Donc depuis mes dernieres, voicy ce que i'ay peu recognoiſtre de ce païs, & ce qui s'eſt paſſé: Ce païs eſt d'vne grande eſtenduë, ayant bien mille ou douze cens lieuës de longueur; ſa largeur, enuiron le 40. degrez vers l'Orient; il eſt borné de la mer Oceane, & vers l'Occident, de la mer de la Chine. Pluſieurs Nations l'habitent: lon m'en a nommé 38. ou 40. ſans celles que lon ne cognoiſt pas, que les Sauages neantmoins aſſeurent. Le lieu où les François ſe ſont habituez appellé Kebec, eſt par les 46. degrez & demy, ſur le bord d'vn des plus beaux fleuues du monde, appellé par les François, la riuiere de ſainct Laurens, eſloigné pres de deux cens

[1 i.e., 3] Letter[35] from Father Charles L'Allemant, Superior of the Mission of Canadas, of the Society of JESUS. To Father Jerome l'Allemant, his brother.[36]

The peace of Christ be with you.

LAST year (about the middle of July) I wrote to Your Reverence in regard to the success of our voyage. I have not been able to communicate with you since then, because the ships touch here only once a year; and therefore news can be expected from us only from year to year. And if these ships failed once, it would not be surprising if you did not receive news before two years; besides, during the intervening year we should be obliged to look entirely to the providence of God for the necessaries of life. Now, since my last letters, the following is what I have been able to learn about this country, and what has been done here. This country is of vast extent, being easily a thousand or twelve hundred leagues long, and in width extending about 40 degrees toward the Orient. It is bounded by the Ocean sea, and towards the West by the sea of China. Many Tribes inhabit it, about 38 or 40 having been named to me, besides those which are unknown; of the existence of which, however, the Savages assure us. The place inhabited by the French, called Kebec, is in 46 and one-half degrees, upon the shore of one of the most beautiful rivers in the world, called by the French the river saint Lawrence.

lieuës de l'emboucheure du dit fleuue, & cepẽdãt le flot monte encore 35. ou 40. lieuës au deſſus de nous. [4] L'endroit le plus eſtroit de ceſte riuiere eſt vis à vis de l'habitation, & toutesfois ſa largeur y eſt plus d'vn quart de lieuë. Or quoy que le païs où nous ſommes ſoit par les 46 degrez & demy plus Sud que Paris de pres de deux degrez, ſi eſt-ce que l'Hyuer, pour l'ordinaire, y eſt de 5. mois & demy; les neiges de 3. ou 4. pieds de hauteur; mais ſi obſtinees qu'elles ne fondent point pour l'ordinaire que vers la my-Auril, & commencent touſiours au mois de Nouembre, pendant tout ce temps on ne void point la terre; voire meſme nos François m'ont dit, qu'ils auoient traiſné le may ſur la nege, au premier iour de May: L'annee meſme que nous arriuaſmes, & ce auec des raguettes; car c'eſt la couſtume en ce païs de marcher ſur des raguettes pendãt l'Hyuer, de peur d'enfoncer dans la neige, à l'imitation des Sauuages, qui ne vont point autremẽt à la chaſſe de l'orignac. Le plus doux Hyuer qu'on ait veu, eſt celuy que nous y auons paſſé (diſent les Anciens habitans) & cependant les neiges commencerent le 16. Nouembre, & vers la fin de Mars commencerent à fondre, la longueur & continuation des neiges eſt cauſe que lon pourroit douter ſi le froment & le ſeigle reuſſiroit bien en ce païs; i'en ay veu neãtmoins d'auſſi beau qu'en voſtre France, & meſme le noſtre que nous y auons ſemé, ne luy cede en rien; pour plus grande aſſeurance il faudroit y ſemer du bled meſteil; l'orge & l'auoine y viennent le mieux du monde, plus grainuës beaucoup qu'en France. C'eſt merueille de voir nos pois tant ils ſont beaux. Ainſi la terre n'eſt pas ingrate (comme voſtre Reuerence peut voir.) Plus on va montant la riuiere, & plus on ſ'apperçoit de la

Kebec is about two hundred leagues from the mouth of this river, and yet the tide ascends 35 or 40 leagues above us. [4] The narrowest part of this river is opposite the settlement, and yet its width here is more than one-fourth of a league. Now although the country where we are, being in latitude about 46 and one-half degrees, is farther South than Paris by nearly two degrees, yet the Winter generally lasts here 5 months and a half; the snow is 3 or 4 feet deep, but it is so firm that it does not usually melt until near the middle of April, and it always begins in the month of November. During all this time the earth is never seen; indeed our Frenchmen have even told me that they dragged their maypole over the snow on the first day of May, in the very year of our arrival, and that with snowshoes; for it is the custom in this country to walk on snowshoes during the winter, for fear of sinking into the snow, in imitation of the Savages; who never go otherwise to hunt the moose. The mildest Winter that has been seen is the one that we have passed here (say the Old inhabitants), and yet the snow began to fall on the 16th of November and to melt towards the end of March. The long duration of the snow might cause one to somewhat doubt whether wheat and rye would grow well in this country. But I have seen some as beautiful as that produced in your France, and even that which we have planted here yields to it in nothing. To better provide against scarcity, it would be well to plant some meslin;[37] rye and oats grow here the best in the world, the grains being larger and more abundant than in France. Our peas are so beautiful; it is wonderful to see them. So the earth is not ungrateful (as your Reverence may see.) The farther up the

bonté d'icelle. Les vents qui regnent en ce païs, ſont, le Nor-d'Eſt, le Nor-Oueſt, & le Sur-Oueſt. Le Nor-d'Eſt ameine les neges en Hyuer, & les pluyes en autre ſaiſon Le Nor-Oueſt eſt ſi froid qu'il penetre iuſques aux moüelles des os; le Ciel eſt fort ſerein quand il ſouffle. Depuis l'emboucheure de ceſte Riuiere iuſques icy, il n'y a point de terre defrichee, ce ne ſont que bois. Ceſte Nation icy ne ſ'occupe point à cultiuer la tetre [terre], il n'y a que 3. ou 4. familles qui en ont defriché 2. ou 3. arpens où ils ſement du bled d'Indes; & ce depuis peu de temps. On m'a dit que c'eſtoit les RR. PP. Recolects qui leurs auoient perſuadé. Ce qui a eſté cultiué en ce lieu par les François eſt peu de choſe, ſ'il y a 18. ou 20. arpens de terre [5] c'eſt tout le bout du monde. A deux cens lieuës d'icy en montant la Riuiere, il ſe trouue des Nations plus ſtables que celles cy, qui baſtiſſent de grands villages, leſquels ils fortifient contre leurs ennemis, & trauaillent à bon eſcient à la terre; d'où vient qu'elles ont quantité de bled d'Inde, & ne meurẽt pas de faim comme celles cy, ſi ſont-elles plus ſauuages en leurs mœurs, commettans ſans ſe cacher, & ſans honte aucune, toute ſortes d'impudences. Or quoy que ceſte Riuiere nous conduiſe à ces Nations là, ſi eſt-ce pourtant qu'il y a bien de la difficulté à y aller, à cauſe des faults qui ſe trouuẽt ſur la Riuiere (qui ſont de certains precipices d'eau, qui empeſchẽt tout à fait qu'on ne puiſſe nauiger.) C'eſt pourquoy lors que les Sauuages arriuent à ces faults là, il faut qu'ils portent leurs batteaux ſur leurs eſpaules, auec tout leur bagage, & qu'ils ſ'en aillent par terre quelquesfois 2. 3. 4. & 8 lieuës, & ainſi que paſſent les François lors qu'ils y vont. Les RR. PP. Recolects y ſont allez quelquesfois, & y ont porté

river we go, the more we see of the fertility of the soil. The prevailing winds in this country are the Northeast, Northwest, and Southwest. The Northeast brings the snows in Winter, and the rains in other seasons. The Northwest is so cold that it penetrates even to the marrow of the bones; yet the Sky is very serene when it blows. From the mouth of the River to this place, none of the land is cleared, there being nothing but forests. This Tribe does not occupy itself in tilling the soil; there are only 3 or 4 families who have cleared 2 or 3 acres, where they sow Indian corn, and they have been doing this for only a short time. I have been told that it was the Reverend Recolect Fathers who persuaded them to do it. That cultivated by the French in this place is of small area, only 18 or 20 acres [5] at the most.[38] Two hundred leagues from here, ascending the River, Tribes are found which are more sedentary than those which are here; they build large villages which they fortify against their enemies, and cultivate the land in earnest. It thus happens that they have stores of Indian corn, and do not die of starvation like those here. Yet they are more savage in their customs, and commit all kinds of shameless acts, without disgrace or any attempt at concealment. Now, although this River takes us to these Tribes, yet truly the difficulty in getting there is very great, on account of the rapids which are found in the River; (these are certain falls of water which entirely prevent navigation.) Therefore, when the Savages reach these rapids, they are compelled to carry their boats upon their shoulders with all their baggage, and to go overland, sometimes 2, 3, 4, or 8 leagues; and the French have to do the same when they go there. The Reverend Recolect Fathers made

tous leurs viures pour vn an, ou dequoy en acheter; car d'attendre que les Sauuages vous en donnẽt c'eſt folie, ſi ce n'eſt qu'ils vous ayent pris ſous leur protection, & que vous vouliez demeurer dans leurs villages & cabanes; car alors il vous nourriront pour rien; Mais qui ſ'y pourroit reſoudre! les yeux religieux ne peuuent ſupporter tant d'impudicitez qui ſ'y commettent à deſcouuert: c'eſt pourquoy les RR. PP. Recolects ont eſté contraints de baſtir des Cabanes à part; mais auſſi falloit il qu'ils achetaſſent leurs viures. En ces Nations il n'y a eu ceſte annee aucun Religieux; quand nous arriuaſmes icy l'an paſſé il y auoit vn P. Recolet qui ſ'en venoit auec les Sauuages, au lieu de la traitte 35. lieuës au deſſus de ceſte habitation; mais au dernier ſault qu'il paſſa ſon canal ſe renuerſa & ſe noya: En deſcendant les Sauuages ne mettent pied à terre pour les ſauls; mais ſeulemẽt en montant. Ainſi ces ſaults ſont que ces Nations ſont de difficile abord. Or bien qu'il n'y ait point eu de Religieux en ces Nations, les marchands n'ont pas laiſſé d'y enuoyer des François pour entretenir les Sauuages, & les amener tous les ans à la traitte Ces François par conſequent n'ont oüy la Meſſe toute l'annee, ne ſe ſont ny confeſſez, ny communiez à Paſques, & viuent dans des occaſions tres-grandes de pecher. *Quæritur*, ſ'ils peuuent en cõſcience y aller de la ſorte; Voſtre [6] Reuerẽce me fera plaiſir de conſulter quelqu'vn de nos Peres pour en ſçauoir la reſolution & me l'eſcrire.

Quant aux façons de faire des Sauuages, c'eſt aſſez de dire qu'elles ſont tout à fait ſauuages. Depuis le matin iuſques au ſoir, ils n'ont autre ſoucy que de remplir leur ventre Ils ne viennent point nous voir ſi ce n'eſt pour demander à manger, & ſi

this journey occasionally and carried all their food for a year, or the means of buying it; for to expect the Savages to give it to you is folly, unless they have taken you under their protection, and you wish to live in their villages and cabins; then they would feed you for nothing. But who could make up his mind to do this? Religious eyes could not support the sight of so much lewdness, carried on openly. Therefore, the Reverend Recolect Fathers were compelled to build their cabins apart; but they also, on that account, had to buy their food. There has been no Religious among these Tribes this year. When we arrived here last year, there was one Recolet Father who came with the Savages to the trading station, 35 leagues above this settlement; but when coming down the last of the rapids, his canoe upset and he was drowned.[35] In descending the river, the Savages do not land on reaching the rapids, but only in going up. Thus the rapids make these Tribes difficult of access. Although there have been no Religious among these Tribes, the merchants have not failed to send Frenchmen there to gain the good will of the Savages, and to induce them to come yearly to the trading station. As a consequence, these Frenchmen have not heard Mass during the entire year, have not confessed nor taken the Easter Sacrament, and their surroundings are such that there are frequent opportunities for sin. *Quæritur:* can they conscientiously go thither under these circumstances? Your [6] Reverence will do me the favor to consult some one of our Fathers, to know his decision and to write to me about it.

As to the customs of the Savages, it is enough to say that they are altogether savage. From morning

vous ne leur en donnez ils teſmoignent du meſcontentement. Ils ſont de vrais gueux ſ'il en fut iamais, & neantmoins ſuperbes au poſſible. Ils eſtiment que les François n'ont point d'eſprit au prix d'eux; les vices de la chair ſont fort frequẽts chez eux; tel qui y eſpouſera pluſieurs femmes qu'il quittera quand bon luy ſemblera & en prendra d'autres. Il y en a icy vn qui a eſpouſé ſa propre fille; mais tous les autres Sauuages s'en ſont trouuez indignez; de netteté chez eux il ne s'en parle point, ils ſont fort ſales en leur manger & dans leurs cabanes, ont force vermine qu'ils mangent quand ils l'ont priſe La couſtume de ceſte Nation eſt de tuër leurs peres & meres lors qu'ils ſont ſi vieux qu'ils ne peuuẽt plus marcher, penſans en cela leur rendre de bons ſeruices; car autrement ils ſeroient contraints de mourir de faim, ne pouuans plus ſuiure les autres lors qu'ils changent de lieu; & comme ie fis dire vn iour à vn qu'on luy en feroit autant lors qu'il ſeroit deuenu vieil; il me reſpondit qu'il ſ'y attendoit bien La façon de faire la guerre auec leurs ennemis c'eſt pour l'ordinaire par trahiſon, les allans eſpier lors qu'ils ſont à l'eſcart; & s'ils ne ſont aſſez forts pour emmener priſonniers ceux ou celuy qu'ils rencontreut, ils tirent des fleches deſſus, puis leur couppẽt la teſte, qu'ils emportent pour monſtrer à leurs gens, que s'ils les peuuent emmener priſonniers iuſques en leurs cabanes ils leur font endurer des cruautez nompareilles, les faiſant mourir à petit feu: & choſe etrange! pendant tous ces tourmens, le patient chante touſiours, reſputans à deſhonneur ſ'ils crient & s'ils ſe plaignent Apres que le patiẽt eſt mort, ils le mangent, & n'y a ſi petit qui n'en ait ſa part, ils font des feſtins auſquels ils ſe conuient les vns les autres, & meſme ils

until night they have no other thought than to fill their stomachs. They come to see us only to ask for something to eat; and if you do not give it to them they show their dissatisfaction. They are real beggars, if there ever were any, and yet proud as they can be. They consider the French less intelligent than they. Vices of the flesh are very common among them. One of them will marry several women, and will leave them when he pleases, and take others. There is one here who married his own daughter, but all the other Savages were indignant at him for it. As to cleanliness among them, that never enters into the question; they are very dirty about their eating, and in their cabins they are covered with vermin, which they eat when they catch them. It is a custom of this Tribe to kill their fathers and mothers when they are so old that they can walk no longer, thinking that they are thus doing them a good service; for otherwise they would be compelled to die of hunger, as they have become unable to follow the others when they change their location. When I had it explained to one of them one day that the same thing would be done for him when he became old, he answered that he certainly expected it. Their method of making war against their enemies is generally through treachery, watching to find them alone; and, if they are not strong enough to make prisoners of those whom they encounter, they shoot them with their arrows, then cut off their heads, which they bring back to show their people. But, if they can take them to their cabins as prisoners, they subject them to unparalleled cruelties, killing them by inches: and, strange to say, during all of these tortures, the victim sings constantly, considering it a

conuient quelques François de leur cognoiſſance, & en ces feſti[n]s ils donnent à chacun ſa part dans des plats ou eſcuelles d'eſcorce & lors que ce ſont feſtins à tout manger, il ne faut rien laiſſer, autremement vous eſtes obligez à payer quelque choſe, & perdriez la reputation de braue [7] homme. Aux feſtins qu'ils font pour la mort de quelqu'vn ils font la part au defunt auſſi bien qu'aux autres, laquelle ils iettent dans le feu, & ſe donnent bien garde que les chiens ne participẽt à ce feſtin; & pource ramaſſent tous les os & les iettent dans le feu. Ils enterrent les morts & auec eux tout ce qu'ils auoient, comme chandeliers, peaux, couſteaux, &c Et comme ie demãday vn iour à vn vieillard pourquoy ils mettoient tout ce bagage dans les foſſes, il me reſpondit qu'ils le mettoient afin que le mort s'en ſeruiſt dans l'autre monde; & comme ie luy repartis que toutes les fois que lon regardoit dãs les foſſes on y trouuoit touſiours le bagage, qui eſtoit vn temoignage que le mort ne s'en ſeruoit pas; il me reſpõdit, qu'à la verité le corps des chaudieres, peaux, couſteaux, &c. demeuroit; mais que l'ame des chaudieres, couſteaux, &c. s'en alloit dans l'autre monde auec le mort, & que là il s'en ſeruoit. Ainſi ils croyent, (comme V.R. void) l'immortalité de nos Ames; & de fait ils aſſeurent qu'apres la mort, ils vont au Ciel où elles mangent des champignons, & ſe communiquent les vnes auec les autres. Ils appellent le Soleil Iesvs; & lon tient en ce païs que ce ſont les Baſques qui y ont cy-deuant habité, qui ſont Autheurs de ceſte denomination. De là vient que quand nous faiſons nos Prieres, il leur ſemble que comme eux nous addreſſons nos Prieres au Soleil. A ce propos du Soleil, ces Sauuages icy croyent que la terre eſt percee de part en part, & que lors qu'il ſe couche, il eſt caché en vn

dishonor if he cries out or complains. After the victim is dead, they eat him, and no one is so insignificant that he does not get his share. They have feasts to which they invite each other, and even some of their French acquaintances; at these feasts they give to each one his part on a dish or plate of bark; and when they are "eat-all" feasts, nothing must be left, otherwise you would be compelled to pay something, and would lose your reputation as a brave [7] man. At the feasts which are given in honor of the death of some one, they set aside a part for the deceased as well as for the others, which they throw into the fire; they are very careful that the dogs shall not share in this feast, and to this end, they gather up all the bones and throw them into the fire. They bury the dead, and with them all their belongings, such as candlesticks, furs, knives, etc. When I asked an old man one day why they placed all this baggage in the grave, he replied that they did so in order that the deceased might use it in the other world; and when I answered him that when any one looked into the grave all the baggage was seen there, which was a proof that the deceased did not use it, he replied, that in truth the body of the kettles, furs, knives, etc., remained, but that the soul of the kettles, knives, etc., went off to the other world with the deceased, and that he made use of them there. Thus they believe (as Your Reverence sees) in the immortality of our Souls; and, in fact, they assure you that after death they go to Heaven, where they eat mushrooms and hold intercourse with each other. They call the Sun JESUS;[39] and it is believed that the Basques,[40] who formerly frequented these places, introduced this name. It thus happens that when we

trou de la terre, & ſort le lendemain par l'autre. Ils n'ont aucun culte diuin, ny aucunes ſortes de Prieres Ils croyent neantmoins qu'il y en a Vn qui a tout fait; mais pourtant ils ne luy rendent aucun honneur. Entr'eux ils ont quelques perſonnes qui font eſtat de parler au Diable; ceux là font auſſi les Medecins, & guariſſent de toute maladie. Les Sauuages craignent grandement ces gens-là, & les careſsẽt de peur qu'ils n'en reçoiuent du mal. Nous apprendrons peu à peu ce qui eſt des autres Nations, leſquelles ſont plus ſtables en leurs demeures; Car pour celles-cy où nous ſommes maintenant auec les François, elle eſt ſeulement vagabonde ſix mois l'annee, qui ſont les ſix mois d'Hyuer, errans çà & là ſelon la chaſſe qu'ils trouuent, & ne ſe cabanent que deux ou trois familles enſemble en vn endroit, deux ou trois en l'autre, & les autres de meſme. Ez autres [8] ſix mois de l'annee, vingt ou trente s'aſſemblent ſur le bord de la Riuiere pres de noſtre habitation, autant à Thadouſſac, & autant à quarante lieuës au deſſus de nous, & là ils viuent de la chaſſe qu'ils ont faicte l'Hyuer, c'eſt à dire, de viande d'orignac, boucanee, & de viures qu'ils ont traité auec les François. Ie croy auoir eſcrit l'an paſſé ce qui eſt de leurs veſtemens, & comme ils ſont touſiours nud teſte, leurs corps ſont ſeulemẽt couuerts d'vne peau, ou d'orignac, ou d'vne robbe de Caſtor, qui ſont 5. ou 6. Caſtors couſus enſemble, & veſtent ces peaux, comme ſans comparaiſon, les Eccleſiaſtiques les Chappes, n'eſtans attachez par deuant que d'vne courroye: quelquefois ils ſe ceignent d'vne ceinture, quelquefois ils n'en ont point du tout, & neantmoins pour lors on ne void rien de deshonneſte, cachans fort decemment les parties que l'honneſteté veut eſtre couuertes. En Hyuer

offer Prayers, it seems to them that we address our Prayers to the Sun, as they do. While on the subject of the Sun, the Savages here believe that the earth is pierced through and through; and that, when the sun sets, it hides in one hole in the earth, and comes out next morning through the other. They have no form of divine worship, nor any kind of Prayers. They believe, however, that there is One who made all, but they do not render him any homage. Among them there are persons who make a profession of talking to the Devil; these are also the Physicians, and cure all kinds of diseases. The Savages have great fear of these people, and humor them lest they do them some injury. Little by little we shall learn more of the other Tribes, who are more sedentary in their habits; but, as to these where we now are with the French, they are wanderers only during six months of the year, which are the six Winter months,— roving here and there, according as they may find game, only two or three families erecting their cabins together in one place, two or three in another, and so on. The other [8] six months of the year, twenty or thirty come together upon the shore of the River near our settlement, part at Thadoussac, and the same number forty leagues above us; and there they live upon the game which they have captured during the Winter; that is to say, on smoked moose meat, and food for which they have traded with the French. I believe I wrote something about their clothing last year, and how they always go bareheaded; they wear no other clothes than a moose skin or a Beaver robe, which consists of 5 or 6 Beaver Skins sewed together; and they wear these skins as, without making any comparison, the Ecclesiastics wear their

ils ont des chauſſes & des ſouliers faits de peau d'orignac; mais les ſouliers, tant deſſus que deſſous ſont ſouples comme vn gand. Ils ont la plus part du temps leurs viſages peints de rouge ou de gris brun & ce en diuerſes façons, ſelon la fantaiſie des femmes, qui peignent leurs maris & leurs enfans, deſquels ils graiſſent auſſi les cheueux de graiſſe d'ours, ou d'orignac. Les hommes n'ont non plus de barbe que les femmes, ils ſe l'arrachent afin de plaire dauantage aux femmes. Ie n'en ay veu que trois ou quatre qui ne ſe la ſont point arrachee depuis peu de temps à l'imitation des François ; mais pourtant ils n'en ſont pas fournis. La couleur de leur chair tire fort ſur le noir; on n'en void pas vn qui aye la charnure blanche, neantmoins il n'y a rien de ſi blanc que leurs dents. Ils võt ſur les riuieres dans de petits canaux d'eſcorce de bouleau, fort proprement faits: dans les moindres il y peut tenir 4 ou 5. perſonnes, encore y mettent-ils leurs petits bagages. Les auirons ſont proportionnez aux canaux l'vn deuant l'autre derriere, c'eſt d'ordinaire la femme qui tient celuy de derriere, & par conſequent qui gouuerne. Ces pauures femmes ſont de vrais mulets de charge, portant toute la fatigue; ſont-elles accouchees, deux heures apres elles s'en vont aux bois pour fournir au feu de la cabane. En Hyuer lors qu'ils decabanent elles trainent les meilleurs pacquets ſur la neige; bref les hommes ne ſemblent auoir pour partage que la chaſſe, la guerre, & la traitte. A propos de la [9] traitte, ie n'en ay encores rien dit, auſſi eſt-ce l'vnique choſe qui me reſte touchant les Sauuages. Toutes leurs richeſſes ſont les peaux de diuers animaux; mais principalement de Caſtors. Auparauant l'aſſociation de ces Meſſieurs auſquels le Roy a donné ceſte traitte pour

Capes, attached in front only by a leather strap. Sometimes they wear a belt, sometimes none at all, and nevertheless nothing improper is noticed on that account, as they very modestly cover the parts which decency demands should be covered. In Winter they have leggings and shoes made of moose skin, but the shoes, the uppers as well as the soles, are as pliable as a glove. Their faces are usually painted red or grayish brown, and this is done in different styles, according to the fancy of the women, who paint their husbands and children, whose hair they also oil with bear or moose grease. The men are no more bearded than the women; they pull their beards out in order to be more agreeable to the women. I have seen only three or four who had not done so, and this but recently in imitation of the French; yet they did not have beards. The color of their skin is strongly inclined to black; not one is seen whose skin is white, and yet nothing is so white as their teeth. They go upon the rivers in light birch-bark canoes, very neatly made; the smallest of them can hold 4 or 5 persons and leave room for their little baggage. The oars are proportioned to the canoes, one at the bow and one at the stern; ordinarily, the woman holds the one at the stern, and consequently steers. These poor women are real pack mules, enduring all hardships. When delivered of a child, they go to the woods two hours later to replenish the fire of the cabin.[41] In the Winter, when they break camp, the women drag the heaviest loads over the snow; in short, the men seem to have as their share only hunting, war, and trading. Apropos of [9] trading, I have as yet said nothing, and it is also the last thing which remains to be said in regard to the Savages.

certain temps, moïennant quelques conditions portees par les Articles, les Sauuages eſtoient viſitez de pluſieurs perſonnes, iuſques là qu'vn des Anciẽs m'a dit qu'il a veu iuſques à vingt nauires dans le port de Tadouſſac; mais maintenant que ceſte traitte a eſté accordee à l'aſſociation qui eſt auiourd'huy priuatiuement à tous autres, lon ne void plus icy que deux nauires qui appartiennent à l'Aſſociation, & ce, vne fois l'an ſeulement, enuiron le commencement du mois de Iuin. Ces deux nauires apportent toutes les marchandiſes que ces Meſſieurs traictent auec les Sauuages, c'eſt à ſçauoir des capaux, des couuertures, bonnets de nuict, chapeaux, chemiſes, draps, haches, fers de fleches, aleines, eſpees, des tranches pour rompre la glace en Hyuer, des coutteaux, des chaudieres, pruneaux, raiſins, du bled d'Inde, des pois, du biſcuit, ou de la galette, & du petun; & outre ce qui eſt neceſſaire pour le viure des François, qui demeurẽt en ce païs là, en eſchange ils emportent des peaux d'orignac, de loup ceruier, de regnard, de loutre, & quelquefois il ſ'en rencontre de noires, de mattre, de blaireau, & de rat muſqué; mais principalement de Caſtor, qui eſt le plus grand de leur gain: On m'a dit que pour vne annee ils en auoient remporté iuſques à 22000. L'ordinaire de chaque annee eſt de 15000. ou 12000. à vne piſtole la piece, ce n'eſt pas mal allé; il eſt bien vray que les frais qu'ils font font aſſez grands, ayant icy quarante perſonnes & plus qui font gagez & nourris; outre les frais de tout l'equipage de deux nauires, où il ſe retrouue bien 150. hõmes qui reçoiuent des gages & ſe nourriſſent. Ces gages ne ſont pas tous d'vne façon: L'ordinaire eſt de 106. liures, il y en a qui ont cent eſcus. Ie cognois vn Truchement qui a cent piſtoles, & quelque nombre

All of their wealth consists in the furs of different animals, but principally of the Beaver. Before the time of the association of those Gentlemen to whom the King gave this trade for a certain time in consideration of certain conditions mentioned in the Articles,[21] the Savages were visited by many people, to such an extent that an Old Man told me he had seen as many as twenty ships in the port of Tadoussac. But now since this business has been granted to the association, which to-day has a monopoly over all others, we see here not more than two ships which belong to it, and that only once a year, about the beginning of the month of June. These two ships bring all the merchandise which these Gentlemen use in trading with the Savages; that is to say, the cloaks, blankets, nightcaps, hats, shirts, sheets, hatchets, iron arrowheads, bodkins, swords, picks to break the ice in Winter, knives, kettles, prunes, raisins, Indian corn, peas, crackers or sea biscuits, and tobacco; and what is necessary for the sustenance of the French in this country besides. In exchange for these they carry back hides of the moose, lynx, fox, otter, black ones being encountered occasionally, martens, badgers, and muskrats; but they deal principally in Beavers, in which they find their greatest profit. I was told that during one year they carried back as many as 22,000. The usual number for one year is 15,000 or 12,000, at one pistole each, which is not doing badly.[19] It is true their expenses are very heavy, as they keep here forty persons and more, who are paid and maintained; this in addition to the expense of the crews of two ships, which consist of at least 150 men, who receive their wages and food. These wages are not all the same. They are generally

de peaux qu'il luy eſt permis d'emporter chaque annee. Il eſt vray qu'il les traicte de ſa marchãdiſe. Voſtre Reuerence le verra ceſte annee, c'eſt vn de ceux qui nous ont grandement aidé. Voſtre Reuerence lui fera, ſ'il luy plaiſt, bon raqueil; il eſt pour retourner & rendre icy de grands ſeruices à N. Seigneur. Reſte maintenant [10] à mander à voſtre Reuerence ce que nous auons fait depuis noſtre arriuee en ce païs, qui fut à la fin de Iuin. Le mois de Iuillet & d'Aouſt ſe paſſerent, partie à eſcrire des lettres, partie à nous recognoiſtre vn peu dans le païs, & à chercher quelque lieu propre pour y eſtablir noſtre demeure: Afin de teſmoigner aux RR. PP. Recolects, que nous deſiriõs les deliurer au pluſtoſt de l'incõmodité que nous leur apportions. Apres auoir bien conſideré tous les endroits, & apres auoir pris langue des François, & principalement des Reuerends Peres Recolects le 1. iour de Septembre nous plantaſmes la ſaincte Croix, au lieu que nous auions choiſi, auec toute la ſolemnité qui nous fut poſſible. Les Reuerends Peres Recolects y aſſiſterent auec les plus apparens des François, qui apres le diſner ſe mirent tous à trauailler. Nous auons depuis touſiours continué, nous cinq, à deſraciner ler [les] arbres, & à beſcher la terre tant que le tẽps nous a permis. Les neiges venantes nous fuſmes contraints de ſurſoir iuſques au Prin-temps pendant le trauail nous ne laiſſions pas de penſer comment nous viendrions à bout du langage du païs; car des Truchemens, diſoit-on il ne faut rien attendre; ſi eſt-ce neantmoins qu'apres auoir recommandé l'affaire à Dieu, i'ay pris reſolution de m'addreſſer au Truchement de ceſte Nation, quitte, diſie en moy-meſme pour eſtre refuſé auſſi bien que les autres. Donc apres m'eſtre efforcé par des ex-

106 livres, but some receive a hundred écus. I know an Interpreter who receives one hundred pistoles, and a certain number of hides which he is permitted to carry away each year.[42] It is true that he trades them off as his own merchandise. Your Reverence will see him this year; he is one of those who have very effectively assisted us. Your Reverence will, if you please, give him a kind greeting; for he is going to return, and do great service here for Our Lord. It remains now [10] to tell your Reverence what we have done since our arrival in this country, which was the last of June. The months of July and August passed by, partly in writing letters, partly in getting a little acquainted with the country, and in seeking a proper place for our settlement, that we might show the Reverend Recolect Fathers that we desired to relieve them as soon as possible of the inconvenience which we caused them. After having carefully considered all the places, and after having consulted with the French people, and especially with the Reverend Recolect Fathers, we planted the holy Cross on the 1st day of September, with all possible solemnity, upon the place which we had chosen. The Reverend Recolect Fathers took part in the ceremony with the most prominent of the French, and after dinner all of them went to work. We have continued this work ever since, we five, uprooting trees and breaking the ground whenever we had time. The snow intervened, and we were compelled to give up our work until Spring. During the work, the thought of acquiring a knowledge of the language of this country was constantly in our minds; for it was said that we could expect nothing from the Interpreters. Nevertheless, after having commended the mat-

hortations que ie faiſois & par noſtre conuerſation, de donner d'autres impreſſiõs de noſtre Compagnie, qu'on n'auoit en ce païs, Voſtre Reuerence croiroit-elle bien que nous y auõs trouué l'Anti-Coton, que lon faiſoit courir de chambre en chambre, & qu'enfin lon a bruſlé quatre mois apres noſtre arriuee; ayant, diſie, taſché de donner d'autres impreſſions. Ie m'adreſſay donc au Truchement de ceſte Nation, & le priay de nous donner cognoiſſance du langage. Choſe eſtrãge, il me promiſt ſur l'heure, qu'il me donneroit pendant l'hyuer tout le cõtentement que ie pourrois deſirer de luy. Or c'eſt icy où il faut admirer vne particuliere prouidence de Dieu: car il faut remarquer, que le General eſtoit chargé de ſes aſſociez de repaſſer en France, ou bien de luy diminuer ſes gages & luy preſſoit ſi fort de retourner la meſme annee que nous arriuaſmes qu'il fallut que le General vſaſt de commandement abſolu auec aſſeurance que ſes gages ne luy ſeroient [11] point diminuees, pour le faire demeurer cette annee; & de fait il eſt demeuré à noſtre grand contentement. *Secundo notandum;* Que ce Truchement n'auoit iamais voulu communiquer a perſonne la cognoiſſance qu'il auoit de ce langage, non pas meſme aux RR. PP. Recolects, qui depuis dix ans n'auoient ceſſé de l'en importuner; & cependant à la premiere priere que ie luy fis, me promiſt ce que ie vous ay dit, & ſ'eſt acquité fidelement de ſa promeſſe pendant cet Hyuer. Or neantmoins parce que nous n'eſtions pas aſſeurez qu'il deuſt eſtre fidele en ſa promeſſe, craignans que l'Hyuer ſe paſſaſt ſans rien auancer en la cognoiſſance de la langue. Ie conſultay auec nos Peres, ſ'il ne ſeroit point à propos que deux de nous allaſſent paſſer l'Hyuer auec les Sauuages, bien auant dans les

ter to God, I made up my mind to speak to the Interpreter of this Tribe, saying to myself that at the worst, I could only be refused as the others had been. So, after having striven by my exhortations and our conversation to correct the impressions concerning our Society that exist in this country, can Your Reverence believe that we have found here the "Anti-Coton,"[43] which was circulated from chamber to chamber, and which was finally burned, about four months after our arrival? Having, I say, tried to give other impressions, I applied then to the Interpreter of this Tribe and begged him to teach us the language. Strange to say, he at once promised me that, during the winter, he would give me all the help that I could ask of him. Now in this a special providence of God must be admired, because it must be observed that the General[21] was ordered by his associates to send him back to France, or else to reduce his wages; and he [the interpreter] begged him so earnestly to return the same year that we arrived, that the General was compelled to use imperative authority, and to tell him that his wages would [11] not be reduced, to make him stay this year; and, in fact, he remained, to our great satisfaction. *Secundo notandum;* This Interpreter had never wanted to communicate his knowledge of the language to any one, not even to the Reverend Recolect Fathers, who had constantly importuned him for ten years; and yet he promised me what I have told you, the first time I urged him to do so, and he kept his promise faithfully during that Winter. However, as we did not feel certain that he would keep his word, and fearing the Winter would pass and we would make no progress in the language, I consulted

bois, afin que leur hantiſe nous donnaſt la cognoiſſance que nous cherchions; nos Peres furẽt d'auis que ce ſeroit aſſez qu'vn y allaſt, & que l'autre demeureroit pour ſatisfaire à la deuotion des François. Ainſi ce fut le P. Brebeuf qui eut ce bonheur; il partit le 20. d'Octobre, & retourna le 27. de Mars, ayant touſiours eſté eſloigné de nous de 20. ou 25. lieux. Pendant ſon abſence ie ſommay le Truchement de ſa promeſſe à laquelle il ne manqua point; A peine euſie tiré de luy ce que ie deſirois, que ie me reſolus d'aller paſſer le reſte de l'Hyuer auec le premier Sauuage qui nous viendroit voir; Ie m'y en allay donc le 8. de Ianuier; mais ie fus contraint de retourner 11. iours apres; car ne trouuans pas dequoy viure eux-meſme, ils furent contraints de retourner voir les François. A mon retour, ſans perdre temps, ie ſollicitay le Truchement d'vne autre Nation de me communiquer ce qu'il ſçauoit; dont ie m'eſtonne comme il le fit ſi franchement, ayant eſté par le paſſé ſi reſerué a l'endroit des Reuerends Peres Recolets. Il nous donna tout ce que nous luy demandaſmes; il eſt bien vray que nous ne luy demandaſmes pas tout ce qu'euſſions bien deſiré; car comme nous recogneuſmes en luy vn eſprit aſſez groſſier, ce n'euſt pas eſté noſtre aduantage de le preſſer par de la ſa portee, nous fuſmes neantmoins tres contens de ce qu'il nous donna: & ce qui eſt à remarquer afin de recognoiſtre d'auantage la prouidence de Dieu en ce fait, cedit Truchement s'en deuoit retourner en France la meſme annee que nous ariuaſmes, & ce par l'entremiſe des Peres Recolets, & de nous qui le iugiõs neceſſaire pour [12] le bien de ſon ame, & de fait nous l'emportaſmes pardeſſus le General de la flotte, qui a toute force le vouloit

with our Fathers as to the propriety of two of us going to spend the Winter with the Savages, far into the depths of the forest, in order that, by constant association with them, we might gain the knowledge we sought. Our Fathers were of the opinion that it would be sufficient for one to go, and that the other ought to remain to attend to the spiritual needs of the French. So this good fortune fell to the lot of Father Brebeuf.[30] He left on the 20th of October and returned on the 27th of March, having been distant from us 20 or 25 leagues all the time. During his absence I reminded the Interpreter of his promise, which he did not fail to keep. I had hardly learned from him what I desired, when I determined to go and spend the remainder of the Winter with the first Savage who should come to see us. So I went off with one on the 8th of January, but I was compelled to return 11 days later; for, as they could not find enough for themselves to eat, they were compelled to come back to the French. As soon as I returned, I lost no time in urging the Interpreter of another Tribe to teach me what he knew; and I was astonished that he should do it so freely, as in the past he had been so reserved in regard to the Reverend Recolet Fathers. He gave us all that we asked for; it is quite true that we did not ask all that we would have wished; as we noticed in him a mind somewhat coarse, it would not have been to our advantage to have urged him beyond his depth. We were, however, highly pleased with what he gave us; and what is noteworthy, in order to better recognize the providence of God in this matter, this very Interpreter was to return to France the same year that we arrived, and this was to be done through the inter-

renuoyer en la Nation de laquelle il eſt Truchement, le voila donc arriué icy où nous ſommes auec des François qui reuenoient de la traitte, en reſolution de ſ'en retourner en France, les vaiſſeaux ſont ſur le point de partir: la veille du depart il vint nous voir chez les Reuerends Peres Recolets pour nous dire Adieu. Ce grand Dieu fit ioüer tout à propos vn reſſort de ſa Prouidence, comme il eſtoit chez nous voila vne forte pleureſie qui le prend & le voilà couché au lict, ſi bien & ſi beau qu'il fallut que les vaiſſeaux s'en retournaſſent ſans luy; & par ce moyen le voilà qui nous demeure, hors des dangers neantmoins de ſe perdre, ce qui nous auoit fait ſolliter ſon retour. Ie vous laiſſe à penſer ſi pendant ſa maladie nous oubliaſmes de luy rendre tout deuoir de charité; il ſuffit de dire qu'auparauant qu'il fuſt releué de ceſte maladie, pour laquelle il n'attendoit que la mort; il nous aſſeura qu'il eſtoit entierement à noſtre deuotion, & que s'il plaiſoit à Dieu luy rendre la ſanté, l'Hyuer ne ce paſſeroit iamais ſans nous donner tout contentement, dequoy il s'eſt fort bien acquitté, graces à Dieu.

Ie me ſuis peut-eſtre eſtendu plus que de raiſon à racõpter cecy; mais ie me plais tant à racompter les traits de la prouidence particuliere de Dieu, qu'il me ſe ſemble que tout le mõde y doit prendre plaiſir; & de fait s'il s'en fuſt retourné en France ceſte annee là, nous eſtions pour n'auancer gueres plus que les Reuerends Peres Recolets en 10. ans. Dieu ſoit loüé de tout, voila donc à quoy ſe paſſa la meilleure partie de l'hyuer. Outre ces occupatiõs ie n'ay point manqué à mon tour d'aller les feſtes & Dimanches dire la Meſſe aux François, auſquels i'ay fait exhortation toutes les fois que i'y ay eſté: le Pere Brebeuf de ſon

vention of the Recolet Fathers and through our influence, as we deemed it necessary for [12] the good of his soul; and in fact we carried the day over the head of the General of the fleet, who was resolved in any event to send him back to the Tribe whose Interpreter he was. So he arrived here where we are, with the French who were returning from the trading station, resolved to go back to France, the ships being on the point of leaving. The evening before his intended departure, he came to see us at the Reverend Recolet Fathers', to bid us Farewell. The great God showed his Providential designs very propitiously then; while he was with us he was taken with a severe attack of pleurisy and was put to bed, so nicely and comfortably, that the ships were obliged to go back without him, and by this means he remained with us, out of all danger of ruining himself; for it was the fear of this which had caused us to urge his return. You will readily understand that during his sickness we performed every act of charity for him. It suffices to say that, before he recovered from this sickness, in which he expected to die, he assured us that he was entirely devoted to us; and that if it pleased God to restore his health, the Winter would never pass by without his giving us assistance, a promise which he kept in every respect, thank God.

I have, perhaps, dwelt longer upon this than was necessary, but I am so pleased to relate the special acts of God's providence, as it seems to me every one must take pleasure in them; and in fact, if he had gone back to France that year, we would have made hardly any more progress than the Reverend Recolet Fathers did in 10 years. May God be praised for all! In this way we passed the greater part of the

coſté en faiſoit autant, & auons ſi bien auancé par la grace de Dieu, que nous auons gaigné le cœur de tous ceux de l'habitation, auons fait faire des confeſſions generales à la plus part, & auons veſcu en tres-bonne intelligence auec le Chef. Enuiron le milieu du Careſme ie m'hazarday de prier le Capitaine de nous donner les Charpentiers de l'habitation pour nous aider à dreſſer vne petite cabane au lieu que nous auons commencé à défricher, ce qu'il m'accorda auec beaucoup de courtoiſie: les charpentiers ne ſouhaitoient [13] rien tant que de trauailler pour nous; & de fait ils nous auoient donné le mot auparauant: auſſi trauaillerent-ils auec tant d'affection, que nonobſtant l'incommodité du temps & de la ſaiſon (car il y auoit encore vn pied & demy de neige) ils eurent acheué noſtre cabane le Lundy de la ſemaine Saincte, & cependant ils cierent plus de 250. aix, tant pour la couuerture, que pour le tour de la cabane; vingt cheurons, & dolerent plus de vingt-cinq groſſes pieces neceſſaires pour l'erection de la cabane. Voila des commencemens aſſez heureux graces à Dieu, ie ne ſçay quel ſera le progrés à cauſe de la continuation de mes imperfections. Au reſte parmy ces Sauuages nos vies ne ſont pas aſſeurées. Si quelque François leur a fait quelque déplaiſir ils s'en vengent par la mort du premier qu'ils rencontrent, ſans auoir eſgard à plaiſir aucun qu'ils ayent receu de celuy qu'ils attaquent. S'ils ont ſongé la nuict qu'il faut qu'ils tuënt quelque François, gar[d]e le premier qu'ils rencontrent à l'eſcart. Ils ajouſtent grande croyance à leurs ſonges. Quelques-vns deux vous diront deux iours auparauant la venuë des vaiſſeaux l'heure à laquelle ils arriueront, & ne vous diront autre choſe ſinon qu'ils l'ont veu en dor-

winter. Besides these occupations, I, in my turn, have not failed to go, on holydays and Sundays, to say Mass for the French, to whom I have made an exhortation every time I have been there. Father Brebeuf did the same on his part; and, by the grace of God, we have made such progress that we have won the hearts of all the people of the settlement, and have induced most of them to make general confessions, and have lived on good terms with the Chief. About the middle of Lent, I ventured to ask the Captain to give us the Carpenters of the settlement to help us erect a little cabin at the place we had begun to clear away, and he very courteously granted my request. The carpenters asked for [13] nothing better than to work for us, and in fact they had previously given us their promise; so they worked with such good will, that, notwithstanding the unfavorableness of the weather and of the season (for there was still a foot and a half of snow), they had finished our cabin by Monday of Holy week; and besides, they had sawed over 250 planks, both for the roof and for the sides of the cabin, twenty rafters, and hewn over twenty-five large pieces necessary for the erection of the cabin. These are very happy beginnings, thank God; but, considering my imperfections still continue, I do not know how much progress will be made. Further, there is no security for our lives among these Savages. If a Frenchman has in some way offended them, they take revenge by killing the first one they meet, without any regard for favors which they may have received from the one whom they attack. If during the night they dream they must kill a Frenchman, woe to the first one whom they meet alone. They attach great faith to their dreams. Some of

mant. Ceux-la ſont en reputation parmy eux de parler au Diable. Leur conuerſion ne nous donnera pas peu d'affaire. Leur vie libertine & faineante, leur eſprit groſſier, & qui ne peut guere comprendre, la diſette des mots qu'ils ont pour expliquer nos myſteres, n'ayans iamais eu aucun culte diuin, nous exercera à bon eſcient. Mais pourtant nous ne perdons pas courage graces à Dieu, appuyez ſur cette verité, que Dieu n'aura pas tant eſgard au fruict que nous ferons, qu'à la bonne volonté & au trauail que nous prendrons; & puis plus il y aura difficulté en leur conuerſion, & plus y aura-t'il de défiance de nous-meſmes; tant y a que noſtre eſperance eſt en Dieu. Si ie puis ie me tranſporteray en d'autres nations; ſi cela eſt, il ne faut plus attendre de nouuelles, car ie ſeray ſi loin d'eux, qu'à grand peine pourray-ie leur écrire; car au cas que cela arriue ie vous dy adieu & à tout le monde iuſques à ce que nous nous reuoyons au Ciel. N'oubliez pas les ſuffrages pour noſtre ame, & faites les de fois à autres. A tout hazard lors que vous vous ſouuiendrez de nous en vos ſaincts ſacrifices, dites pour vn tel vif ou mort. Le ſecours qui nous eſt venu de France eſt vn bon commencement pour cette Miſſion; mais les affaires [14] ne ſont pas encore en tel eſtat que Dieu puiſſe y eſtre ſeruy fidellement. L'heretique y a autant encore d'empire que iamais, c'eſt pourquoy ie renuoye le Pere Noiroit ſelon la permiſſiõ que les Superieurs m'en ont faite, afin qu'il paracheue ce qu'il a commencé; il eſt le mieux entendu en cette affaire. Si nos Peres deſirent l'affermiſſement, & le bon ſucces de cette Miſſion, il eſt du tout expedient qu'ils le laiſſent faire. C'eſt bien à ſon corps defendant qu'il s'en retourne, veu principalement qu'il eſt tant in-

them will tell you two days before the coming of a ship the hour of its arrival, and will give no other explanation except that they have seen it while asleep. These are reputed among them to have intercourse with the Devil. Their conversion will give us no little trouble. Their licentious and lazy lives, their rude and untutored minds, able to comprehend so little, the scarcity of words they have to explain our mysteries, never having had any form of divine worship, will tax our wits. And yet we do not lose courage, thank God; trusting in this truth, that God will not have so much regard to the fruits that we produce, as to our good will and the trouble we take; and besides, the greater the difficulty in their conversion, and the more distrust we have in ourselves, so much the greater will be our trust in God. If I can, I shall go among some of the other tribes; and, in that event, no further news need be expected from me, because I shall be so far away that it will be very hard to communicate with you; and if that should happen, I say farewell to you and to every one until we meet in Heaven. Do not forget the prayers for our souls, and make them from time to time. In any case when you remember us in your holy sacrifices, offer them up for such and such a one, living or dead. The help which has reached us from France is a good beginning for this Mission, but things |14| are not yet in such a condition that God can be faithfully served here. The heretic holds as complete dominion here as ever, and therefore I send back Father Noiroit, according to the permission that I have received from the Superiors, in order that he may finish what he has begun; he is the most capable one for this affair. If our Fathers wish the strength-

commodé deſſus la mer. I'enuoye ſon compagnon auec le Pere Brebeuf à 300 lieux d'icy à vne de ces nations qui ſont ſtables en leur demeure, ils y ſeront bien toſt s'ils trouuent des Sauuages qui les y vueillent conduire, autrement ils ſeront contraints de retourner vers nous; i'attends tous les iours de leurs nouuelles. Ie viens d'apprendre tout maintenant qu'ils ſont partis. Le Diable qui craint la touche a voulu jouër des ſiennes, car nos Peres eſtans deſia embarquez, les Sauuages par deux ou trois fois les voulurent faire deſembarquer, alleguans que leurs canaux eſtoient trop chargez; mais en fin Dieu l'emporta par deſſus luy, on gaigna les Sauuages à force de preſents. S'il plaiſt à Dieu faire reüſſir cette miſſion, voila vne entrée dans des nations infinies pour ainſi dire, qui ſont touſiours ſtables en leur demeure. I'euſſe bien deſiré eſtre de la partie, mais nos Peres ne l'ont pas iugé à propos, iugeans qu'il eſtoit neceſſaire que ie demeuraſſe icy, tant pour l'éſtabliſſement de noſtre petit domicille, que pour l'entretien des François. Voſtre R. s'eſtonnera peut-eſtre de ce que i'ay enuoyé le P. Brebeuf qui auoit deſia quelque commencement à la langue de cette nation, mais les talents que Dieu luy a departy m'y ont fait reſoudre; le fruict que l'on attend de ces natiõs là eſtant bien autre que celuy que l'on eſpere de celle cy. S'il plaiſt à Dieu benir leurs trauaux nous aurons grand beſoin d'ouuriers; les diſpoſitions du coſté des Sauuages ſont telles, qu'on en peut eſperer quelque choſe de bon. Le truchement ayant demandé en ma preſence à l'vn de leurs Capitaines s'ils ſeroiẽt tous contens que quelques-vns des noſtres allaſſent demeurer en leur pays pour leur apprendre à cognoiſtre Dieu, il reſpondit qu'il ne falloit de-

ening and the success of this Mission, it is by all means proper that they should allow him to proceed.[32] He returns very much against his inclination, principally on account of his sufferings upon the sea. I send his companion[31] with Father Brebeuf, 300 leagues from here, to one of those tribes which has a permanent location. They will soon be there if they find Savages to conduct them, otherwise they will be obliged to return here; I am expecting news from them daily. I have just learned that they have gone. The Devil, who feared their approach, tried to play some of his tricks on them, for, when our Fathers had embarked, the Savages tried two or three times to make them go ashore, asserting that their canoes were too heavily loaded; but at last God triumphed over him, and the Savages were won by means of presents. If it please God to give success to this mission, it will open a way, so to speak, to an infinite number of tribes which have permanent settlements. I should have been very glad to be one of the party; but our Fathers did not deem it expedient, considering it well that I should remain here, both for the establishment of our little home and for the welfare of the French. Your Reverence will be astonished, perhaps, at my having sent Father Brebeuf, who already had some knowledge of the language of this tribe; but the talents that God has given him influenced me, the fruits which are expected from those tribes being very different from those hoped for here. If it please God to bless their labors, we shall have great need of workers; the disposition on the part of the Savages is such that something good may be looked for. When the interpreter asked one of their Captains in my presence, if they would all

mander cela & qu'ils ne ſouhaittoient rien tant, puis ayant conſideré la maiſon des Recollets où nous eſtions, il adiouſta qu'à la verité ils ne pourroient pas nous baſtir vne maiſon de pierre ſemblable à celle-là, [15] mais demandés leur, dit-il au truchement, s'ils ſeroient contans de trouuer à leur arriuee vne cabane faicte ſemblable aux noſtres. Il ne pouuoit nous teſmoigner plus d'affection; De plus il y a eu de la ſterilité dans leur pays cette annee, & ils l'attribuent à cauſe qu'ils n'y ont point eu de Religieux, tout cela nous fait bien eſperer. Pour ceux de cette Nation ie les ay fait ſommer de reſpondre, s'ils ne vouloient pas ſe faire inſtruire; & nous donner leurs enfans pour le meſme ſujet: ils nous ont tous reſpondu qu'ils le deſiroient. Ils attendent que nous ayons baſty, c'eſt à nous cependant de meſnager leur affection & apprendre bien leur langue. Au demeurant ie ſupplirois volontiers ceux qui ont de l'affection pour ce pays, qu'ils ne ſe dégouſtaſſent point s'ils n'entendent promptement des nouuelles du fruict que l'on eſpere. La conuerſion des Sauuages demande du temps. Les premieres ſix ou ſept annees ſembleront ſteriles à quelques vns. Et ſi i'adiouſtois iuſqu'à dix ou douze, poſſible ne m'éloigneroisie pas de la verité. Mais eſt ce à dire pourtãt qu'il faille tout quitter là? Ne faut-il pas des cõmencemens par tout? Ne faut-il pas des diſpoſitions pour arriuer où on pretend? Quand à moy ie vous confeſſe que Dieu me fait cette miſericorde, qu'encor que ie n'eſperaſſe aucun profit tout le temps qu'il luy plaira me conſeruer en vie, pourueu qu'il euſt nos trauaux agreables, & qu'il vouluſt s'en ſeruir comme de preparation pour ceux qui viendront apres nous, ie me tiendrois trop heureux d'employer & ma vie & mes

be glad if some one of us should go among them to teach them to know God, he answered that it was not necessary to ask that, that they desired nothing better; then, having examined the house of the Recollets where we were, he added that they indeed could not build us a stone house like that one; [15] "But ask them," said he to the interpreter, "if they will be satisfied upon their arrival to find a cabin made similar to ours." He could not manifest more affection for us than he did. Moreover, there was a drought in their country this year, and they attributed it to the fact that they had no Religious among them; all this gives us strong hopes. As to the people of this Tribe, I had them called together to say whether they wanted to be instructed, and to give us their children for the same purpose. They all answered that they did. They are waiting for us to build; and it is for us, in the meantime, to cultivate their affection and to learn their language. Meanwhile, I would request those who are interested in this country not to be disappointed if they do not promptly receive news of the hoped-for converts. The conversion of the Savages takes time. The first six or seven years will appear sterile to some; and, if I should say ten or twelve, I would possibly not be far from the truth. But is that any reason why all should be abandoned? Are not beginnings necessary everywhere? Are not preparations needed for the attainment of every object? For my part, I confess that, if God shows me mercy, although I expect no fruits as long as it will please him to preserve my life, provided that our labors are acceptable to him, and that he may be pleased to make use of them as a preparation for those who will come after us, I shall hold myself only too happy to employ

forces, & n'épargner rien de ce qui ſeroit en mon pouuoir, non pas meſme mon ſang pour ſemblable ſuiet. Neantmoins ſi nos Superieurs ne ſont point d'aduis qu'on paſſe outre, me voicy tout prés de me ſoufmettre à leur volonté, & ſuiure leur iugement. Voicy vn petit Huron qui s'en va vous voir, il eſt paſſionné de voir la France. Il nous affectionne grandement & fait paroiſtre vn grand deſir d eſtre inſtruict; neantmoins le pere & le Capitaine de la nation, le veulent reuoir l'an prochain, nous aſſeurant que s'il eſt contant il le nous donnera pour quelques annees. Il eſt fort important de le bien contenter; car ſi vne fois cet enfant eſt bien inſtruit, voila vne partie ouuerte pour entrer en beaucoup de nations où il ſeruira grandement. Et tout à propos le truchement de cetre [cette] nation la eſt retourn[é] en France. Truchement qu'il aime tant, qu'il l'appelle ſon pere. Ie prie noſtre Seigneur qu'il luy plaiſe benir le voyage. Au reſte ie remercie V. R. du courage [16] qu'elle m'a donné. I'ay leu ſes lettres quatre ou cinq fois; mais ie n'ay peu gaigner ſur moy que ce n'ait eſté la larme à l'œil, pour pluſieurs raiſons, mais ſpecialement ſur la fouenance de mes imperfections *(coram Deo loquor)* qui m'éloignent grandement, du merite de cette vocation, & me fait viuement apprehender que ie n'aille trauerſer les deſſeins de la grace de Dieu, en l'établiſſement du Chriſtianiſme en ce pays Apres cela ie ne crains rien. Ie vous ſupplie en vertu de ce que vous aimez mieux dans le Ciel, de ne vous laſſer point de ſolliciter la diuine bonté, ou qu'il me face la grace de m'en défaire, ou ſi mon idignité eſt venuë iuſques là qu'il m'y faille encore tremper, que ce ne ſoit au preiudice de nos pauures Sauuages; que ma miſere n'empeſche point les effects de ſa miſericorde, & le

my life and my strength, and to spare nothing in my power, not even my blood, for such a purpose. However, if our Superiors do not think we should go farther, I am ready to submit to their will and to follow their judgment. A little Huron is going to see you; he longs to see France. He is very fond of us and manifests a strong desire to be instructed; nevertheless, his father and the Captain of the nation wishes to see him next year, assuring us that, if he is satisfied, he will give him to us for some years. It is of importance that he should be thoroughly satisfied; for, if this child is once instructed, it will open the way to many tribes where he will be very useful. And the return of the interpreter of that tribe to France is very opportune,—the Interpreter whom he loves so much, that he calls him his father. I pray our Lord to be pleased to bless his voyage. I also thank Your Reverence for the courage [16] you have given me. I have read your letters four or five times, and I have not been able to keep the tears from my eyes for several reasons; but especially in reflecting upon my imperfections *(coram Deo loquor)* which are far from the merit necessary for this vocation, and inspire me with grave fears that I am opposing the purposes of God's grace in the establishment of Christianity in this country. After that, I fear nothing. I beseech you, in the name of all you hold most dear in Heaven, not to become weary in appealing to the divine goodness, either to do me the favor of removing me from here, or, if my unworthiness is so great that I must yet be chastened, let it not be to the disadvantage of our poor Savages; let not my shortcomings prevent the effects of his mercy, nor my weak will be a hindrance to the order that his

deſordre de ma volonté fragile, l'ordre que ſa bonté veut établir en ce pays. Nous continuons plus que iamais les bonnes intelligences auec le Pere Ioseph, qui eſt icy l'vnique Preſtre de ſon Ordre, l'vn eſtant allé auec nos Peres aux Hurons; & l'autre s'en retournant en France; il a deux bons freres auec luy. M^r. Champlain eſt touſiours fort affectionné en noſtre endroit, m'a pris pour directeur de ſa conſcience, auſſi bien que Gaumont, duquel i'auray vn ſoin particulier ſelon les recommandations de voſtre R. L'aduis que voſtre R. me donne touchant la dedicace de noſtre premiere Egliſe, eſt fort conforme à ma deuotion ſi les Superieurs m'en laiſſent la liberté, elle ne ſera iamais appellee autrement que N. Dame des Anges; c'eſt pourquoy ie ſupplie V. R de nous faire auoir quelque beau Tableau enuironné d'Anges. C'eſt vne des grãdes Feſtes des PP. Recolets, qui ont dedié leur Chappelle à S. Charles; & la Riuiere ſur laquelle, eux & nous; ſommes logez, ſ'appelle la riuiere S. Charles, ainſi nõmee quelque temps auparauant que nous vinſiõs. Pour les lettres ie ne penſe pas auoir obmis perſonne, tant de nos bien-faiteurs plus ſignalez, que de ceux qui m'ont eſcrit. Auſſi vous confeſſay je que ie ſuis vn peu las; voicy la 68 & ſi ce n'eſt pas la derniere. Plaiſe à noſtre bon Dieu que le tout ſoit à ſa gloire Noſtre R. P. Aſſiſtant ſe monſtre fort affectiõné à ceſte Miſſion; ie luy enuoye vne charte de ce pays, aſſeurant que ie demeureray toute ma vie, de Voſtre Reuerence,

Seruiteur tres-affectionné en N Seigneur
CHARLES L'ALLEMANT.

A Kebec ce 1.
d'Aouſt 1626.

goodness wishes to establish in this country. Our sympathetic relations with Father Joseph [26] are stronger than ever. He is the only Priest of his Order here, one having gone with our Fathers to the Hurons, and the other now returning to France; he has two good brothers with him. Mr. Champlain is always very kind to us, and has chosen me as his confessor. Gaumont has done the same, and I shall take special care of him, according to the recommendations of your Reverence. The advice which your Reverence gives me in regard to the dedication of our first Church, is in thorough harmony with my views. If the Superiors leave it to me, it will never be otherwise named than "N. Dame des Anges." Therefore I beg Your Reverence to send us a beautiful Picture surrounded by Angels. It is one of the great Fête days of the Recolet Fathers, who have dedicated their Chapel to St. Charles; the River upon which they and we live is called the river St. Charles, so called some time before our arrival. As to sending letters, I think I have not passed over any one, either of our well-known benefactors or any of those who have written to me; and I confess to you that I am a little tired; this is the 68th, and it is not the last. May it please our good God that everything may be done here for his glory. Our Reverend Father Assistant manifests a great deal of affection for this Mission; I send him a map of this country. With assurances that I will be, during my life, of Your Reverence,

The very affectionate servant in Our Lord,
CHARLES L'ALLEMANT.

Kebec, this 1st of
August, 1626.

XIX

Charles Lalemant's

Lettre au R. P. Supérieur du Collége des Jésuites à Paris

BORDEAUX: Nouembre 22, 1629

SOURCE: The Title-page and Avant-Propos follow O'Callaghan's Reprint, No. 3; but the Text has been compared with the original publication in Champlain's *Voyages* (Paris, 1632), part ii., pp. 275–279. The bracketed pagination in the Text is that of Champlain.

LETTRE

du Reuerend

PÈRE L'ALLEMAND,

Supérieur de la Miſſion des Pères Iéſuites,

en la

NOUUELLE FRANCE

Enuoyée de Bordeaux au R. P. Supérieur du Collége des Iéſuites à PARIS,

et datée du 22 *Nouembre*, 1629.

Imprimée d'après l'exemplaire que l'on trouve dans les Voyages du Sieur Champlain.

A PARIS,

M. DC. XXXII.

LETTER

from the Reverend

FATHER L'ALLEMAND,

Superior of the Mission of Jesuit Fathers,

in

NEW FRANCE

Sent from Bordeaux to the Reverend Father Superior of the Jesuit College at PARIS,

and dated 22nd *November*, 1629.

Reprinted from the copy to be found in the Voyages of Sieur Champlain.

PARIS,

M. DC. XXXII.

Avant-Propos.

Le R. Père Charles Lallemant, qui a écrit la Lettre ſuivante, entra à l'âge de vingt ans dans la Compagnie de Jéſus. En 1613, *il avoit accompagné M. de la Sauſſaye, à Pentagouët. Argal ſ'étant emparé de cet établiſſemement, le P. Lallemant ſ'en retourna en France, d'où il partit pour le Canada en* 1625. *C'eſtoit la première fois que des Pères Jéſuites entrerent dans ce Pays. Quelques années aprés, il fût envoyé avec le P. Philibert Noyrot, Procureur de la Miſſion, chercher en France du ſecours pour la Colonie, et ayant trouvé de quoi fretter un batiment avec des vivres, ils ſ'y étoient embarqués vers la fin du mois de Juillet,* 1629. *Le vaiſſeau fit naufrage ſur la côte de l'Acadie, et c'eſt de cet naufrage et d'autres événements qui ſuivirent que traitte la preſente lettre.* [O'Callaghan.]

Preface.

THE Reverend Father CHARLES LALLEMANT, who wrote the following Letter, entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty years. In 1613, he accompanied M. de la Saussaye to Pentagoüet.[44] Argal took possession of this settlement, and Father Lallemant returned to France, whence he departed for Canada in 1625. This was the first time that the Jesuit Fathers had entered that Country. Several years later, he was sent with Father Philibert Noyrot, Agent for the Mission, to France, to seek aid for the Colony; and, having secured the means to load a ship with supplies, they embarked upon it toward the end of July, 1629. The ship was wrecked upon the Acadian coast; and it is this shipwreck and other subsequent events that the present letter describes. [O'Callaghan.]

Lettre du Reuerend P. l'Allemand, au R. P. Supérieur, à Paris.

[275] *AÃYT ſejourné deux iours à Dieppe ie m'acheminay à Rouën, où ie m'arreſtay deux autres iours, & appris comme le vaiſſeau des Reuerends Peres l'Allemand & Noyrot s'eſtoient perdus vers les Iſles de Canſeau, & me fit-on voir vne lettre dudit Reuerend Pere l'Allemand, Superieur de la Miſſion des Peres Ieſuites, en la nouuelle France, enuoyée de Bordeaux au R. P. Superieur du College des Ieſuites à Paris, & dattée du 22. Nouembre 1629. comme il s'enſuit.* [Champlain.]

[276] MON REVEREND PERE,

Pax Chriſti.

Caſtigans caſtigauit me Dominus & morti non tradidit me, *Chaſtiment qui m'a eſté d'autant plus ſenſible que le naufrage a eſté accompagné de la mort du R. P. Noyrot & de noſtre frere Louys, deux hõmes qui deuoient, ce me ſemble grandemẽt ſeruir à noſtre Seminaire. Or neantmoins puis que Dieu a diſpoſé de la ſorte, il nous faut chercher nos contentements dans ſes ſainctes volontez, hors deſquelles il n'y eut iamais eſprit ſolide ny content, & ie m'aſſeure que l'experience aura fait voir à voſtre reuerence que l'amertume de nos reſſentiments détrempée dans la douceur du bon plaiſir de Dieu, auquel vne ame s'attache inſeparablement, perd (ou le tout) ou la meilleure partie de ſon fiel; Si que s'il reſte encore quelques ſouſpirs pour les ſouffrances, ou paſſées ou preſentes, ce n'eſt que pour aſpirer dauantage vers le Ciel, & perfectionner auec merite*

Letter from the Reverend Father l'Allemand to the Reverend Father Superior, at Paris.

[275] *AFTER having sojourned two days at Dieppe, I journeyed to Rouën, where I remained two more days, and learned how the ship of the Reverend Fathers l'Allemand and Noyrot had been wrecked upon the Canseau Islands; and I was shown a letter from the Reverend Father l'Allemand, Superior of the Mission of the Jesuit Fathers in new France, sent from Bordeaux to the Reverend Father Superior of the Jesuit College at Paris, and dated November 22nd, 1629, as follows.* [Champlain.]

[276] MY REVEREND FATHER,

The peace of Christ be with you.

Castigans castigavit me Dominus & morti non tradidit me, *a Chastisement all the more keenly felt by me, as the shipwreck was accompanied by the death of the Reverend Father Noyrot and of our brother Louys,*[20] *two men who were destined, it seems to me, to be of great service to our Seminary. But nevertheless, since God has so ordained, we must seek our consolation in his holy will, outside of which there never was a peaceful or contented mind; and I feel sure that experience will have shown your reverence that the bitterness of our grief, tempered with the sweetness of doing the will of God, to whom a soul is inseparably attached, loses (either all) or the greater part of its sting. And yet, if there still remain some sighs for the sufferings either of the past or of the present, it is only to*

ceſte conformité dans laquelle l'ame a pris reſolution de paſſer le reſte de ſes iours ; De quatre des noſtres que nous eſtions dans la barque, Dieu partageant à l'eſgal, en a pris deux, & a laiſſé les deux autres. Ces deux bons Religieux tres-bien diſpoſez & reſignez à la mort, ſeruiront de victime pour appaiſer la colere de Dieu iuſtement iettée contre nous pour nos deffauts, & pour nous rendre deſormais ſa bonté fauorable au ſucceds du deſſein entrepris.

Ce qui nous perdit fut vn grand coup de vent de Sueſt, qui s'eſleua lors que nous eſtions à la riue des terres, vent ſi impetueux que quelque ſoin & diligence que peuſt apporter noſtre Pilote auec ſes Matelots, Quelques vœux & prieres que nous peuſsions faire pour deſtourner ce coup, iamais nous ne peuſmes faire en ſorte que nous n'allaſsions heurter contre les rochers : ce fut le 26. iour d'apres noſtre depart, iour de ſainct Barthelemy, enuiron ſur les neuf heures du ſoir ; De 24. que nous eſtions dans la barque, dix ſeulement eſchapperent, les autres furent eſtouffez dans les eaux. Les deux nepueux du Pere Noyrot tindrent compagnie à leur oncle, leurs corps ont eſté enterrez, [277] *entre autres celuy du P. Noyrot & de noſtre frere, des ſept autres nous n'en auons eu aucune nouuelles, quelque recherche que nous en ayons peu faire. De vous dire comment le Pere de Vieuxpont & moy auons eſchappé du naufrage, il me ſeroit bien difficille, & croy que Dieu ſeul en a cognoiſſance, qui ſuiuans les deſſeins de ſa diuine prouidẽce nous a preſeruez, car pour mon regard ne iugeant pas dans les apparences humaines qu'il me fuſt poſsible d'éuiter ce danger, i'auois pris reſolution de me tenir dans la chambre du nauire auec noſtre frere Louys, nous diſpoſans tous deux à receuoir le coup de la mort, qui ne pouuoit tarder plus de trois* Miſerere, *lors que i'entendis qu'on m'appelloit ſur le haut du nauire, ie croyois que c'eſtoit quelqu'vn qui auoit affaire de mon ſe-*

make us aspire more earnestly to Heaven, and to perfect with merit this harmony in which the soul is determined to pass the rest of its days. Of the four of us who were in the barque, God equally divided them, taking two and leaving two. These two good Religious, who were thoroughly prepared and resigned to die, will serve as victims to appease the wrath of God, justly provoked against us for our shortcomings, and to cause him to grant in the future his goodness, that it may be favorable to the success of the project undertaken.

Our wreck was caused by a heavy gust of wind from the Southeast, which arose when we were near the shore,— a wind so strong that in spite of all the diligence of our Pilot and his Sailors, and the vows and prayers which we made to avert the disaster, we could not avoid striking upon the rocks. This was on the 26th day after our departure, saint Barthelemy's day, about nine o'clock in the evening. Of the 24 who were in the barque, ten only escaped, the others being suffocated in the water. The two nephews of Father Noyrot kept company with their uncle, and there the bodies were buried, [277] *among others that of Father Noyrot and our brother; of the seven others we have no tidings, notwithstanding the search that has been made. It would be difficult for me to tell you how Father de Vieuxpont*[35] *and I escaped shipwreck, and I believe it is known only to God, who, in harmony with the purposes of his divine providence, has preserved us; for in regard to myself, not thinking it within the bounds of human possibility that I could escape this danger, I had resolved to remain in the ship's cabin with our brother Louys. We were preparing ourselves to meet death, which could not be farther away than three* Miserere's, *when I heard some one call me on the deck of the ship. I thought it might be some*

cours, ie montay en haut, & trouuay que c'eſtoit le P. Noyrot qui me demandoit derechef l'abſolution : Apres luy auoir donnée, & chanté tous enſemble le Salue Regina, *ie fus contrainct de demeurer en haut ; car de deſcendre il n'y auoit plus de moyen, la mer eſtoit ſi haute, & le vent ſi furieux, qu'en moins de rien le coſté qui panchoit ſur le rocher fut mis en pieces, i'eſtois proche du P. Noirot lors qu'vn coup de mer vint ſi impetueuſement donner contre le coſté ſur lequel nous eſtions qui rompit tout, & me ſepara du P. Noyrot, de la bouche duquel i'entendis ces dernieres paroles,* In manus tuas Domine, &c. *Pour moy de ce coup ie me trouuay engagé entre quatre pieces de bois, deux deſquelles me donnerent ſi rudement contre la poictrine, & les deux autres me briſerent ſi fort le dos que ie croyois mourir auparauant que d'eſtre enueloppé des flots, mais voicy vn autre coup de mer qui me deſengageant de ces bois m'enleua, & mon bonnet & mes pantoufles, & miſt le reſte du nauire tout à plat dans la mer: Ie tombay heureuſement ſur vne planche que ie n'abandonnay point, de rencontre elle eſtoit liée auec le reſte du coſte de ce nauire. Nous voilà doncques à la mercy des flots, qui ne nous eſpargnoient point ; ains s'eſleuans ie ne ſçay combien de couldées au deſſus de nous, tomboient par apres ſur nos teſtes. Apres auoir flotté longtemps de la ſorte dans l'obſcurité de la nuict, qui eſtoit deſia commencée, regardant à l'entour de moy ie m'apperceus que nous eſtions enfermez d'eſpines & ſur tout enuironnez & preſt du coſtau qui ſembloit vne iſle, puis regardant vn peu plus attentiuement ie contay ſix perſonnes qui n'eſtoient pas fort eſloignées de moy, deux deſquels m'apperceuans m'exciterent à faire tous mes efforts pour m'approcher, ce ne* [278] *fut pas ſans peine, car les coups que i'auois receus dans le debris du vaiſſeau m'auoient fort affoiblis : Ie fis tant neantmoins, qu'auec mes planches*

one who was planning my rescue. I went up and found it was Father Noyrot, who asked me to again give him absolution. After having given it to him, and having all sung together the Salve Regina, *I was obliged to remain above, for there was no means of descending; the sea being so high and the wind so furious, that, in less than no time, the side which leaned toward the rocks was broken in pieces. I was near Father Noyrot, when a wave struck the ship so hard on the side where we were that it broke everything, separating me from Father Noyrot, from whose lips I heard these last words:* In manus tuas Domine, &c. *I found myself after this blow entangled in four pieces of wood, two of which struck me so hard on the chest and the other two hit me so heavily upon the back, that I thought I should die before being engulfed in the waves; but then came another sea, which, freeing me from these pieces of wood, carried me off, and my cap and slippers, and scattered the rest of the ship over the sea. Fortunately, I fell upon a plank to which I clung, and which happened to be attached to the rest of the side of the ship. We were then at the mercy of the waves, which did not spare us, but which rose, I know not how many cubits above us, and then fell forward over our heads. After having floated about a long time in this manner, in the darkness of the night, which had already set in, looking around me I saw that we were surrounded on all sides by pine trees, and everywhere environed by, and near the shores of what seemed to be an island; then examining a little more closely I counted six persons who were not far from me, two of whom noticed me, and motioned for me to try and come near them. This* [278] *was not without difficulty, for the blows I had received from the debris of the ship had weakened me. I did so well, however, that with the aid of my planks, I*

i'arriuay au lieu où ils eſtoient, & auec leur ſecours ie me trouuay aſsis ſur le grand maſt, qui tenoit encore ferme auec vne partie du vaiſſeau, ie n'y fus pas long-temps car comme nous approchions plus prés de cette iſle, nos Matelots ſe lancerent bien-toſt à terre, & auec leur aſsiſtance tous ceux qui eſtoient ſur le coſté du nauire y furent bien toſt apres. Nous voilà donc ſept de compagnie, ie n'auois bonnet ny ſouliers, ma ſoutane & habits eſtoient tous deſchirez, & ſi moulus de coups que ie ne pouuois me ſouſtenir, & de faict il fallut qu'on me ſoustint pour aller iuſques dans le bois, auſsi auois-ie receu deux rudes coups aux deux jambes, mais ſur tout à la dextre, dont ie me reſſens encore, les mains fenduës auec quelque contuſion, la hanche eſcorchée, la poitrine ſur tout fort offencée, nous nous retiraſmes donc tous ſept dans le bois, moüillez comme ceux qui venoient d'eſtre trempez dans la mer : la premiere choſe que nous fiſmes fut de remercier Dieu de ce qu'il nous auoit preſeruez, & puis le prier pour ceux qui pourroict eſtre morts. Cela faict pour nous eſchauffer nous nous couchaſmes les vns proches des autres, la terre & l'herbe qui auoient eſté moüillez de la pluye du iour n'eſtoient encore propre pour nous ſeicher, nous paſſaſmes ainſi le reſte de la nuict, pendant laquelle le P. de Vieuxpont (qui graces à Dieu n'eſtoit point offencé) dormit fort bien. Le l'endemain ſi toſt qu'il fut iour nous allaſmes recognoiſtre le lieu où nous eſtions, & trouuaſmes que c'eſtoit vne iſle de laquelle nous pouuions paſſer à la terre ferme, ſur le riuage nous trouuaſmes force choſes que la mer y auoit ietté, i'y trouuay deux pantoufles, vn bonnet, vn chappeau, vne ſoutanne, & pluſieurs autres choſes neceſſaires. Sur tout Dieu nous y enuoya pour viures cinq bariques de vin, quelques dix pieces de lard, de l'huile, du pain des fromages, & vne harquebuſe, & de la pouldre tout à propos pour faire du feu. Apres

reached the place where they were, and, with their assistance, I found myself sitting upon the mainmast, which was still firmly fastened to a part of the ship. I did not remain there long, for as we neared the island our Sailors soon leaped to the land; and, with their assistance, all those who were on the side of the ship were soon brought to the shore. There were then seven of us together; I had neither cap nor shoes, my cassock and clothes were all torn, and I was so bruised by blows from the wreck, that I could not stand up; and, in fact, some one had to support me while I was trying to reach the woods; for I had received two hard blows upon both legs, but especially upon the right one, which I still feel; my hands were cut and bruised, the flesh torn from my hips; above all I was badly wounded in the chest. All seven of us withdrew into the woods, as wet as those who have just been soaked in the sea. The first thing we did was to thank God for having preserved us, and then we prayed to him for those who might be dead. This done, we lay down very near to each other to keep warm; the ground and the grass, which had been wet by the rain of the previous day, were not yet in a condition to dry us; thus we spent the rest of the night, during which Father de Vieuxpont (who, thank God, was unharmed) slept well. The next morning, at daybreak, we reconnoitered the place where we were, and discovered that it was an island, from which we could go to the mainland. We found many things upon the shore that had been thrown up by the sea; I found there two slippers, a cap, a hat, a cassock, and several other necessary articles. Best of all, God sent us as food, five barrels of wine, about ten pieces of lard; oil, bread, and cheese; also an arquebuse, powder, and everything necessary to make a fire. After having drawn all these upon the shore, on saint

qu'on eut ainſi tout retiré, le iour de ſainct Louys tous s'employerent à faire le poſsible pour baſtir vne chalouppe du desbris du vaiſſeau, auec laquelle nous irions rangeant la coſte chercher quelque nauire de peſcheurs : On ſe mit doncques à trauailler auec meſchans ferremens que l'on trouua, elle eſtoit bien aduancée le quatrieſme iour, lors que nous euſmes cognoiſſance d'vne chalouppe qui eſtoit ſous voile venant vers le lieu où nous eſtions, ils receurent dedans vn de nos matelots qui alla tout ſeul plus proche du lieu [279] *où elle deuoit paſſer, ils le menerent dans leur vaiſſeau parler au Maiſtre, auquel il racõta noſtre diſgrace, le maiſtre tout auſsi-toſt s'embarqua dans vne chalouppe & nous vint trouuer, nous offrit à tous le paſſage : Nous voila en aſſeurance, car le lendemain tous les hommes coucherent dans ſon vaiſſeau : C'eſtoit vn vaiſſeau Baſque qui faiſoit peſche â vne lieuë & demie du rocher, où nous fiſmes naufrage, & pour autãt qu'il reſtoit encores bien du temps pour acheuer leur peſche, nous demeuraſmes auec eux ce qui reſtoit du mois d'Aouſt, & tout le mois de Septembre. Le premier d'Octobre arriua vn Sauuage qui diſt au Maiſtre que s'il ne s'en alloit il y auroit danger que les Anglois ne le ſurpriſſent. Cette nouuelle le diſpoſa au depart : Le meſme Sauuage nous diſt que le Capitaine Daniel eſtoit â vingt-cinq lieuës de là qui baſtiſſoit vne maiſon, & y laiſſoit des François auec vn de nos Peres : Cela me donna occaſion de dire au P. de Vieuxpont qui me preſſoit fort que ie luy accordaſſe de demeurer auec ce Sauuage dans ceſte coſte, qui eſtoit bien l'vn des meilleurs Sauuages qui ſe puiſſe rencontrer, Mon Pere voicy le moyen de contenter voſtre reuerence, le Pere Vimond ſera bien aiſe d'auoir vn compagnon. Ce Sauuage s'offre de mener voſtre Reuerence iuſques au lieu où eſt Monſieur Daniel, ſi elle veut demeurer là elle y demeurera, ſi elle veut aller*

Louis's day, everybody went to work in earnest to build a boat out of the wreck of the ship, in which we might sail along the coast in search of some fishing boat. So we began to work with the poor tools at our disposal, and considerable progress was made by the fourth day, when we learned of a boat under sail, coming towards the place where we were. They received on board one of our sailors, who went alone to the place [279] *near which it was to pass. They took him into their ship to speak with their Captain, to whom he related our misfortune. The captain immediately entered a boat and came in search of us, offering a passage to all of us. Behold us then in safety, for the next night we all slept in his ship. It was a Basque, which was fishing a league and a half from the rock where we were wrecked; and, as they would not finish their fishing for some time, we stayed with them during the remainder of the month of August and the entire month of September. On the first of October a Savage arrived, and told the Master that if he did not leave he would be in danger of being surprised by the English. This news decided his departure. The same Savage told us that Captain Daniel*[46] *was twenty-five leagues away, and was building a house, and that he had left the French with one of our Fathers there. This led me to say to Father de Vieuxpont, who urged me earnestly to permit him to remain with this Savage upon this coast, for he was one of the best Savages that could be found; "My Father, here is the way we can satisfy your reverence; Father Vimond*[47] *will be very happy to have a companion. This Savage offers to conduct your Reverence to the place where Monsieur Daniel is; if you wish to remain there, you may do so; if you wish to go to spend a few months with the Savages to learn their language, you may do so;*

quelque mois auec les Sauuages, pour apprendre la langue elle le pourra faire, & ainſi le R. Pere Vimond & voſtre Reuerence auront leur contentement : le bon Pere fut extreſmement ioyeux de ceſte occaſion qui ſe preſentoit, ainſi il s'embarque dans la chalouppe du Sauuage, ie luy laiſſay tout ce que nous auions ſauué, horſmis le grand Tableau duquel le matelot Baſque s'eſtoit ſaiſi, mais i'auois bien pensé au retour de luy faire rendre, ſi vne autre diſgrace ne nous fut arriuée. Nous partiſmes donc de la coſte le 6. Octobre, & apres auoir enduré de ſi furieuſes tempeſtes que nous n'auions encores experimẽtées, le quarantieſme iour de noſtre depart entrãt dãs vn port proche de S. Sebaſtiẽ, nous fiſmes de rechef vn ſecond naufrage, le Nauire rompu en mille piéces, toute la moluë perduë, ce que ie peus faire ce fut de me ſauuer dans vne chalouppe, dans laquelle ie me iettay auec des pantoufles aux pieds, & vn bonnet de nuict en teſte, & en ceſte eſquippage m'en aller trouuer nos Peres à S. Sebaſtien, d'où ie partis il y a huict iours, & ſuis arriué à Bourdeuac proche de Bordeaux le 20. de ce mois. Voila le ſucceds de noſtre voyage, par lequel voſtre Reuerence peut iuger des obligations que i'ay à DIEV.

and so the Reverend Father Vimond and your Reverence will be satisfied.'' The good Father was very happy at this opportunity which offered itself, so he embarked in the Savage's boat. I gave him all that we had saved, except the large Painting, which the Basque sailor had taken possession of; but I had intended to make him surrender it upon our return, if another misfortune had not overtaken us. So we left the coast on the 6th of October; and after having suffered the most furious tempests that we had yet experienced, we entered, the fortieth day after our departure, the port near St. Sebastien, where we were wrecked a second time, the Ship being broken into a thousand pieces and all the codfish being lost. All I could do was to escape in a shallop into which I threw myself, in my slippers and nightcap, and in this outfit I went to find our Fathers at St. Sebastien, whence I departed eight days later, and arrived at Bourdevac, near Bordeaux, the 20th of this month. This is the result of our voyage, from which your Reverence can judge of my obligations to GOD.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. IV

XIV

Chapters xxvi.–xxxvii., completing the document, are given in the present volume. The preceding chapters, with Bibliographical Data, are found in our Volume III.

XV–XVII

Documents XV. and XVI. are letters from Charles Lalemant to Sieur de Champlain and the provincial of the Récollets, respectively, dated at Quebec, July 28, 1625. They are taken from Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636), pp. 868, 869, 870; in the Tross reprint of Sagard (Paris, 1865), they are in vol. iii., pp. 789, 790.[48]

Document XVII. is a letter from Lalemant to his general, at Rome, dated New France, August 1, (presumably 1626). It was written in Latin, the original being preserved in the Archives of the Gesù at Rome. This is one of the letters copied for Carayon, by Father Martin, in 1858, and translated by the latter into French, for the *Première Mission*, where it appears on pp. 117–121,—see Bibliographical Data for Document XIII., in our Volume III. We follow the Martin apograph, in Latin (preserved at St. Mary's College, Montreal), and our translation into English is made therefrom.[49]

The above three letters by Lalemant were selected by O'Callaghan from Sagard and Carayon,—the third being, of course, Martin's French translation,—

and published at Albany in 1870, with a brief "Avis" giving the sources of the documents. This publication, known in the Lenox Catalogue as "O'Callaghan Reprint No. 2," bears the following title-page:

Copie de Trois | Lettres | efcrittes ès années 1625. et 1626. | Par le P. Charles Lallemant | Superieur des Miffions de la Compagnie | de Iesvs en la | Novvelle France. | A Albanie | De l'Imprimerie de J. Munsell | M.DCCC.LXX.

Collation of O'Callaghan's Reprint. Title, 1 p.; reverse of title, with inscription: "Edition tirée à vingt cinq exemplaires. O'C.," 1 p.; "Avis" (by O'Callaghan), 1 p.; text, pp. 5–14.

For further references, see Brown, vol. ii., no. 316 and p. 166; Harrisse, nos. 426, 427, 429; Sabin, vol. x., no. 38679; O'Callaghan, nos. 1209, 1250; Winsor, p. 301; Lenox, p. 18.

XVIII

We follow the original publication (Paris, 1627), now in the Lenox Library, of Lalemant's letter to his brother, Jerome; it is described in the Lenox Catalogue, p. 4, under "H. 41."

There are extant, four different reprints of this document, as follows:

1. It appears to have first been reprinted in *Mercure François*, tome xiii., pp. 12–34; the portion of the journal wherein this is found, is devoted to the events of the year 1626, but the royal Privilege for the volume was "Donné au camp de la Rochelle le 28. de Septembre, l'an de grace 1628." The original publication appeared without statement of Privilege; it is, therefore, impossible to say when in 1627 permission to print was granted. In the Quebec edition of

the *Relations* (1858), it is inadvertently stated (vol. i.) that this letter commences on p. 1 (instead of p. 12) of tome xiii. of *Mercure*, an error which Sabin, Harrisse, and others have repeated. As will be seen by a comparison of our text with that of issues which follow the *Mercure*, the differences between the original and this first reprint are slight.

2. The next reprint appears in Danjou's *Archives Curieuses*, 2nd series, tome iii. (Paris, 1838), pp. 405–426). This follows the text of the original, and not that of the *Mercure*. The following clause in the Lenox Catalogue, p. 19,—the final sentence of note under "7(b)" in list of O'Callaghan's Reprints,—is misleading: "The copy in the Astor Library of that work is printed from the original letter of 1627." The "copy in the Astor" is simply this reprint in *Archives Curieuses*, of which rare collection the Astor has a set.

3. The third reprint, but the first in separate form, was issued by O'Callaghan at Albany, 1870, and is the one designated in the Lenox Catalogue (p. 19) as "7(b)." The text of the *Mercure* reprint is followed, with a made-up title-page, as follows:

Relation | de ce qvi s'est passé | en la | Novvelle France | en l'annee M.DC.XXVI. | Enuoyée au Père Hierosme L'Allemant | par le P. Charles L'Allemant Superievr de | la Miſſion de la Compagnie de Iesvs | en | Canada. | D'après la Copie dans le Mercure François | Tome 13. | A Paris | Chez Eſtienne Richer ruë S. Iean de Latran | M.DC.XXIX.

Collation of same. Title, 1 p.; reverse of title, with inscription: "Edition tirée a vingt-cinq exemplaires, O'C.," 1 p.; Tables des Matieres, 2 pp.; text, pp. 1–51; Table, pp. 53–59.

4. A second separate reprint was issued by O'Callaghan in 1871, and is that referred to in the Lenox Catalogue (p. 19) as "7(a)." This follows the original text, and not that of the *Mercure;* it is set in small type in imitation of the original (Paris, 1627), and comes into the same number of pages. Upon the otherwise blank page facing the last page of the text, is the inscription : "Calqué fur l'exemplaire dans la collection | de Mr. James Lenox, de New York." The title-page is apparently photo-lithographed from the original.

For further references to this document, which has had a curious bibliographical history, see Harrisse, no. 41; Sabin, vol. x., no. 38680 (original), and no. 38682 (reprint); Carayon, nos. 1254, 1255, and p. 1179; Ternaux, no. 496; Winsor, pp. 300, 301; *Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 19; Brown, vol. ii., p. 166; Lenox, p. 4 (H. 41), 19; and the Barlow (no. 1272), Murphy (no. 1480), and O'Callaghan (nos. 1250, 1982) sale catalogues.

Title-page. We give a photographic facsimile of original.

Collation of Original. Title, 1 p.; text, pp. 1–16.

XIX

Charles Lalemant's letter of Nov. 22, 1629, to the superior of the Jesuit College at Paris, originally appeared without title or headlines, in *Les voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris, 1632), 2nd part, pp. 275–279. O'Callaghan reprinted it in what is known in the Lenox list as "No. 3," of which,— as with others of the O'Callaghan series,— but twenty-five copies were published. He omitted the preliminary editorial note, on p. 275, made up a title-page of his own,

and furnished the Avant-Propos. In the present issue, we reproduce the O'Callaghan title-page and Avant-Propos, but in all other respects strictly follow the original publication. See further references in Winsor, p. 301; Sabin, vol. x., no. 38681; Lenox, p. 18.

Title-page. We imitate O'Callaghan's Reprint.

Collation of O'Callaghan's Reprint. Title, 1 p.; reverse of title, with inscription: "Tirée à vingt cinq exemplaires, lefquels ne font | pas à vendre. O'C.," 1 p.; Avant-Propos (by O'Callaghan), 1 p.; blank, 1 p.; text, pp. 5–15; colophon, 1 p.: "Achevé d'Imprimer à Albany, N. Y., par | J. Munfell, çe 14 Juin, 1870."

NOTES TO VOL. IV

(Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.)

1 (p. 15).— *The pilot:* see vol. ii., *note* 88.

2 (p. 15).— *Pretended Religion:* see vol. iii., *note* 31.

3 (p. 21).— On Turnell, see vol. i, *note* 66.

4 (p. 33).— *The Marshal:* Sir Thomas Dale (spelled Deel, by Biard). See vol. i., *note* 64.

5 (p. 33).— *The General:* this was Sir Thomas Gates, one of the prominent men of his time in both military and civil service. He was of Devonshire, and probably at this time a little over 50 years of age; had been an officer in the Drake-Sidney expedition to America (1585–86), and published an account of it in 1589; later, had military commands in Spain and Holland; was commander of the English expedition to Virginia in 1608, and appointed the first sole and absolute governor to the colony there; returned to England in April, 1614. He lived about six years longer, and took much interest in the affairs of Virginia. Both he and Dale were men of energy and executive ability; to their efforts are mainly ascribed the establishment and continuance of the Jamestown colony.

6 (p. 69).— The French name for the English Channel; given on account of its shape, resembling a sleeve (Fr. *manche*). It gives its name to the maritime department of France in which are situated Cherbourg and St. Lô.

7 (p. 75).— *The ambassador:* see vol. ii., *note* 94.

8 (p. 85).— On Betsabes, see vol. iii., *note* 16.

9 (p. 91).— *River of smelts:* the Liesse River of Lescarbot (see vol. ii., *note* 37).

10 (p. 95).— On this point, cf. Maurault (*Hist. Abenakis*, p. 95, *note* 4): "The Abnakis always exhibited profound grief at the death of a child; the parents were inconsolable. The cause of this great sorrow was the belief of the savages that a child was wretched in the other world, because it was too young and weak to procure for itself the necessities of life there."

11 (p. 101).— The letters patent here referred to were those issued to Sir Thomas Gates and others, for the establishment of colonies in Virginia, and constituted the colonial charter. This document,

dated April 10, 1606, granted some 20,000 square miles to the two companies, but claimed for the crown all of North America between 34° and 45° north latitude, presumably amounting to some 2,000,000 square miles, as the width of the continent was then understood. The text is given, with collateral and illustrative papers, in Brown's *Genesis*, pp. 52 *et seq.*

12 (p. 105).— For a graphic account of the colonial enterprises of Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière in Florida (1562–65), consult Parkman's *Pioneers*, pp. 33–150. Cf. Laudonnière's own narrative, and Ribaut's journal, as given in Goldsmid's *Hakluyt*, vol. xiii., pp. 407–507; also, Guérin's *Navigateurs Français* (Paris, 1846), pp. 180–204.

13 (p. 105).— Concerning these early discoveries by the French, see vol. ii., *notes* 49, 72; and vol. iii., *notes* 5, 9.

14 (p. 107).— Biard here refers to the colony established in 1610 by John Guy and others at Cupids Harbor (opening into Conception Bay), N. F. Lord Bacon was prominent in this enterprise, and it was his influence that secured the charter and subsidies granted to the Newfoundland Colonization Company, as it was called. The company seems to have existed till at least 1628. For Guy's charter, and letters written by him, with an account of his enterprise and of other early colonies in that region, see Prowse's *Hist. N.F.*, pp. 92–133.

15 (p. 107).— The map of Ortelius (1570) shows New France as extending southward to 40°. Van der Aa's "Canada" (1619, *ca.*), and Blaeu's "Extrema Americæ" (1620), give the Kennebec river as the dividing line between New England and New France; the latter region is extended by Van der Aa to the south of the Great Lakes, and as far as the Mississippi river. Winsor gives (*Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 9), a sketch reduced from a tracing of the alleged map of Denis (1506), mentioned in vol. iii., of the present series, *note* 4.

16 (p. 109).— Reference is here made to the "Pandects," or *Corpus Juris Civilis*, a collection of the Roman civil law, made in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian. The "law of Alluvions" has two branches,— the law of abandonment, and that of accretion *(acquirendo)*. Biard's reference is to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Digest, book 41 (*"De adquirendo rerum dominio"*), 29 and 30. The sign ff, used in our text, was employed by early jurisconsults to signify the Digest, and even the Pandects as a whole; it is supposed to be a corruption of the Greek character $\tilde{\pi}$ (or perhaps of θ).— See Hermann Hugo's *De Prima Scribendi Origine* (Antwerp, 1617), p. 153.

17 (p. 109).— Regarding the Count de Soissons, see vol. ii., *note* 24.

18 (p. 109).— Cf. with these arguments of Biard, Champlain's

"*Abregé des decovvertvres de la Nouuelle France*," in his *Voyages* (ed. 1632), part 2, pp. 290–296; and Hinsdale's "Right of Discovery," in *Ohio Archæol. and Hist. Quarterly*, Dec., 1888.

19 (p. 113).—Concerning the French fisheries in Newfoundland, which, with the neighboring Banks, furnished the greater part of the Canadian product, see Prowse's *Hist. N.F.*, pp. 49–50; and Dionne's *Nouv. France*, chaps. viii., ix. For a detailed account of the Canadian fisheries at the present time, see Joncas's "Fisheries of Canada," in *Canadian Economics* (Montreal, 1884), pp. 41–73.

Lalemant says (doc. no. xviii., *post*) that the usual exportation of beaver skins from New France was 12,000 to 15,000 annually; and that it had, in one year, been 22,000. These skins were sold in France at a pistole each, or ten livres. The Company of Merchants is said to have realized an annual dividend of 40 per cent on its investment. Garneau cites De Caen as saying, when Quebec was restored to him by Kirk, in 1632: "But as for our settlement, my people have found it utterly consumed, along with 9,000 beaver skins, valued at 40,000 livres."—*Histoire du Canada* (4th ed., Montreal, 1882), vol. i., p. 127, *note* *. See, also, chapter on "New France and the Fur-trade," in H. H. Bancroft's *N. W. Coast*, vol. i., pp. 378–403; and Dionne's *Nouv. France*, chap. xiii. Gagnon's *Essai de bibliographie canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), p. 128, mentions Bruslons's *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* (Savary's ed., Paris, 1723) as "an immense compilation, containing highly valuable information in regard to Canadian commerce in the seventeenth century."

20 (p. 171).—Charles Lalemant (also written L'Alemand, L'Almand, Lallemant, and Allemand) was born at Paris Nov. 17, 1587, and became a novice of the Jesuits July 29, 1607, at Rouen. He studied philosophy at La Flèche, 1609–12; during the following three years, he was an instructor in the college of Nevers; four years more he devoted to the study of theology at La Flèche, and one year at Paris. He was a professor in the college at Bourges, 1620–22; and, for three years more, principal of the boarding school of Clermont, Paris. In March, 1625, he was appointed superior of the mission at Quebec, whither he went with his brethren Massé and Brébeuf, and the Récollet missionary Joseph La Roche-Daillon, arriving in June of that year. Here Lalemant remained till November, 1627, when he went to France to procure supplies. Returning in the following May, the ship was captured by Admiral Kirk, the Jesuits being sent to England, and later to France. In June, 1629, Lalemant, with several other Jesuits, made a second attempt to return to Canada; but they were shipwrecked on the rocks near Canso. Noyrot and Malot perished in the waves, Vieuxpont joined Father Vimont at Grand Cibou, and Lalemant was taken back to France by a Basque fishing

vessel, arriving at St. Sebastien after still another shipwreck. Quebec having been meanwhile captured by the English, the Canadian missions were interrupted until 1632, when the region was restored to France. Lalemant, upon his return to France, in 1629, was appointed rector of the college at Eu; and, later, of that at Rouen. In April, 1634, his superiors granted his earnest request that he might again go to Canada. He was placed in charge, with Massé and De Nouë, of the chapel "Notre-Dame de Récouvrance" (built by Champlain on his return to New France), and was the latter's friend and spiritual director, attending him at his death. Lalemant returned to France in 1639, and there, during several years, acted as agent for the Canadian missions; he was afterwards successively rector of the colleges at Rouen, La Flèche, and Paris, and at the last place superior of the Maison Professe. There he died, Nov. 18, 1674.

21 (p. 171).— *The General.* This was Emery de Caen, who, with his uncle, Guillaume de Caen, was placed by Montmorency in charge of commercial affairs in New France; both were Huguenots — the latter a merchant, the former a naval captain.

It is necessary, in this connection, to outline the commercial monopolies that successively dominated New France in its infancy. For an account of the first of these, granted to De Monts, see vol. i., *note* 2. His patent was finally canceled in 1609; and in January, 1611, he gave up his claims in America to Madame de Guercheville. Meanwhile, Champlain (see vol. ii., *note* 42) was continued as lieutenant of the King in New France, with personal command over the Quebec colony, which was sustained mainly through his efforts, with the aid of the Rouen merchants who had been associated with De Monts.

Company of Associates.— The Rouen associates withdrew from the enterprise, toward the close of 1611; and, in the following year, Champlain undertook the formation of a new company, to be composed of merchants from Rouen, Havre, St. Malo, and La Rochelle. It was open to all who were willing to share both the profits and the losses, thus avoiding the jealousies that had been aroused against the limited membership of De Monts's company. The Rochelle men finally declined to enter the company, which afterwards lost heavily by the illicit trade in which the former engaged with the savages. Champlain also accuses these merchants of selling arms and ammunition to the natives, and exciting their hostility against the Quebec colonists.— See his *Voyages* (1632), part 2, pp. 2, 3. The Count de Soissons (vol. ii. of this series, *note* 24) was appointed governor of New France, with Champlain as his lieutenant. After considerable delay, the Company of Associates was organized (1613–14); among its members were, besides De Monts and Champlain,

Thomas Porée, Lucas Legendre, Mathieu Dusterlo, and Daniel Boyer. Quarrels arose among the associates, caused by commercial and even religious differences of opinion; and some of them tried to eject Champlain from his command. Although this attempt failed, his work was greatly hindered and embarrassed, until the Duke of Montmorency, Condé's successor as viceroy, came to his aid (1620).

Company of De Caen.— Dissensions and complaints still arising, the Company of Associates was summarily dissolved by Montmorency, in November, 1620, and a new company formed. At its head were the De Caens; there were, also, Guillaume Robin, Jacques de Troyes, and François Hervé, merchants; François de Troyes, chief of royal finance at Orléans; Claude Le Ragois, receiver-general of finance at Limoges; Pierre de Verton, counselor and secretary of the King; and others. The old company had resented Montmorency's order of dissolution; but within a year its membership and interests were consolidated with those of the new association. The latter received a monopoly for eleven years, to which the King added eleven more; but it also was dissolved by Richelieu, early in 1627, to make room for his "Company of New France," also known as the "Company of the Hundred Associates."

Company of New France.— This association was personally controlled and managed by Richelieu; and had members in official positions about the court, and in Paris, Rouen, and other cities of France. Among these were Marquis Deffiat, superintendent of finance; Champlain; Claude de Roquemont; the Commander de Razilly; Sebastian Cramoisy, the Parisian publisher; Jean de Lauson, long the president of the company, and intendant of Canada; Louis Houel, secretary of the King, and controller of the salt works at Brouage; and several leading merchants of Paris, Rouen, Dieppe, and Bordeaux. The reasons for the formation of this company, the royal charter granted to it, and its articles of association, are given in *Mercure François*, vol. xiv. (1628), pp. 232–267. For a complete list of the (107) members, see Creuxius' *Hist. Canad.;* for a copy of the list, with the company's charter, and other interesting particulars, see Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens-Français* (Montreal, 1882–84), vol. ii., pp. 27–33. The company was granted jurisdiction over the territory extending from Florida to the Arctic Circle, and from Newfoundland to the "great fresh lake" (Huron). Only Catholics were permitted to join this association, or to settle in its colonies; and no Huguenot or foreigner might enter Canada. The capture of Quebec by the English (1629) temporarily broke up this monopoly; but it resumed operations when that region was retroceded to France (vol. ii., *note* 42). The charter of the company obliged it to send 4,000 colonists thither before 1643; to lodge and support them dur-

ing three years; and then to give them cleared lands for their maintenance. The vast expense attending this undertaking was beyond the ability of the Associates; therefore, in 1645, they transferred to the inhabitants of Quebec their monopoly of the fur trade, with their debts and other obligations,— retaining, however, their seigniorial rights. Finally (Feb. 24, 1663), the Hundred Associates abandoned their charter, and New France again became the property of the crown.

All these monopolies appear to have sought mainly their own financial interests. They sustained the Quebec settlement, but in penurious fashion, and only so far as it aided their trade with the natives; but they did nothing to make it an agricultural community, or to forward Champlain's schemes for the permanent colonization of Canada,— neither of which objects could well be attained under the feudal tenure by which the colonists held land under the companies.

For more extended accounts of these enterprises, see Parkman's *Pioneers*, pp. 364–366, 419–432; his *Jesuits*, pp. 155–157, 194, 195, 331; Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., pp. 161, 162, 167, 185, 189, 197–201, 215, 217, 220, 226, 338–340; Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 128–135, 159, 163, 164, and vol. ii., pp. 65–66; Slafter's "Memoir of Champlain," in *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., pp. 110–114, 122, 144–158, 187; Faillon's *Colon. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 132–136, 150, 160–175, 189–232, 268–272, 333–352; Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 130, 131, 167, 168; Garneau's *Canada*, vol. i., pp. 63–75; and Margry's *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), vol. i., pp. 62–85.

The losses of the De Caens at the capture of Quebec (referred to *note ante*, 19) were heavy; and, as some compensation therefor, they were granted a monopoly of the fur trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for one year. Emery De Caen was therefore appointed provisional governor of Canada for that period, upon the restitution of the province by the English; and on July 13, 1632, he took formal possession of Quebec in the name of his King. Laverdière gives (*Champlain*, close of vol. ii.) numerous "Pièces justificatives;" see pp. 6–31 of these, for documents showing De Caen's losses through Kirk's attack, and his attempts to secure redress from the latter through the English government. L'Abbé H. A. B. Verreau, in *Report on Canadian Archives* (1874), p. 197, mentions that in Paris he found documents granting islands in the West Indies to De Caen, in 1633 and 1640.

22. (p. 171).— Champlain, in thorough accord with the policy then dominant at the court of France, was fully as desirous of establishing the Christian religion among the savages of America as of gain-

ing new possessions for France. He had tried, in 1612, to induce Madame de Guercheville to send the Jesuits to Quebec, and to aid De Monts in establishing a colony there; see his *Voyages* (1632), pt. i., pp. 112, 113. This proposal was rejected, on account of De Monts's Calvinistic faith. But when the Company of Merchants was formed, two years later, Champlain at once made plans for the establishment of missions in New France. Consulting Louis Houel, of Brouage, the latter advised him to apply to the Récollets (vol. ii., of the present series, *note* 41), who had already won renown from their successful missions in Spanish America.

That Order gladly responded to the appeal; and, having secured the consent of the King of France and of the Pope, and assurances of aid from the Company of Merchants, the first Récollet missionaries to Canada departed from France, April 24, 1615.—See Introduction, vol. i., pp. xx., xxi. Other Récollets were sent over, from time to time; and, in 1620–21, they built a convent and chapel (the first in Canada) on St. Charles River, about half a French league from the fort of Quebec. This they named Notre-Dame des Anges; it was situated (according to Laverdière) on the spot where now stands the General Hospital.

By 1624, five Récollet missions had been established—at Tadoussac, Quebec, and Three Rivers; at Carhagouha, in the Huron country; and among the Nipissings. There was another, in Acadia, on St. John River, founded in 1619, conducted by three Récollets from Aquitaine, and supported by certain commercial companies at Bordeaux. This mission was closed in July, 1624; and, immediately thereafter, its priests joined their brethren at Quebec.

Just before their arrival, a conference of the Récollet missionaries was held at Quebec, at which they resolved to ask the coöperation of the Jesuits (also noted for the success of their foreign missions) in the Canadian field, which was far too large and arduous for their limited resources, hoping that the latter order would send some missionaries at its own expense. The Récollets, even more austere than the other Franciscan orders, were forbidden by their rules to own property; hence their missionaries could not look to their own order for aid. The Company of Merchants had agreed with Champlain to support six of the Récollets; but, as many of its members were Protestants, this outlay was probably an unwelcome burden to them. Moreover, the religious dissensions constantly arising between the Huguenots and the Catholics were felt to be a hindrance to the labors of the missionaries, who would have preferred that Protestants should be entirely excluded from the management of affairs. Sagard says (*Canada*, pp. 860, 861) that he complained to Montmorency of the disorders in Canada, for which he blamed the

Huguenots; and that the Récollet provincial at Paris, with Father Irenæus Piat (envoy from the Canadian missionaries, to negotiate with the Jesuits), made formal charges against them in the council, to the same effect. The viceroy (in Rochemonteix's phrase, "a man of the world, who loved pleasures quite as well as honors") had meanwhile gladly disposed of his troublesome Canadian dignities (January, 1625) to his nephew Henri de Lévis, duke of Ventadour, a pious man who cared not for trade or conquest, but only for the conversion of the savages. De Lévis's spiritual director was a Jesuit; the application of the Récollets for aid from the Society of Jesus came at an opportune time for both orders. It is also probable that the influences of the court, at that time strongly inclined toward the Jesuits, helped to bring about the arrangement. There was, however, considerable opposition to its consummation, especially from the Company of Merchants; but, according to Faillon, the new viceroy asserted his authority over them, and obliged them to yield. In accordance with the agreement, the Jesuit fathers Lalemant, Massé, and Brébeuf, with the coadjutors François Charreton, Jean Goffestre, and Gilbert Burel, were sent to New France in April, 1625. There they pursued their missionary labors until the capture of Quebec by the English, four years later. After that event, Kirk sent all the missionaries back to France, by way of England. When the French returned (1632), they were accompanied solely by Jesuit priests; for Richelieu would not allow the Récollets to resume their Canadian missions.

For accounts of this transaction, from a Récollet standpoint, see Shea's *Le Clercq*, pp. 224–233; and Sagard's *Canada*, pp. 860–865. The Jesuit view is given in Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 137–153. Cf. Faillon's *Colon. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 206–212.

23 (p. 171).—This was Joseph de la Roche-Daillon (written also d'Allion), a Récollet priest of the province of St. Denis, allied to the house of the counts du Lud (or Lude). He accompanied the Jesuit missionaries to Canada, and, after remaining at Quebec for a year, went to the Huron country with Brébeuf and De Nouë. In October, 1626, he visited the Neutral Nation, and spent the winter there. In the summer of 1628, he returned from the Huron mission to Quebec, remaining there until its capture; Champlain mentions his visit to "Father la Roche," just before that event, to ask if the Récollets could supply any grain to the colony. Sagard gives *(Canada*, pp. 880–892) a letter written to a friend by Daillon, describing his visit to the Neutrals; it is reproduced by Le Clercq (Shea's ed., vol. i., pp. 263–272). Harris (citing Noiseux's *Liste chronologique)* gives the date of Daillon's death as July 16, 1656.—*Early Missions in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1893), p. 56, *note*.

24 (p. 171).— *The trading station:* Three Rivers (see vol. ii., *note* 52). This point was long a favorite fur-trade rendezvous for the Indians. The Récollet missionaries established a residence here in June, 1615, which was maintained until 1628. The fortified French settlement at Three Rivers was established by Champlain in July, 1634, to protect the Huron and Algonkin fur trade from the incursions of the Iroquois, and to serve as an outpost of defence for Quebec. The first colonist was Jacques Hertel, who in 1633 had obtained a grant of land there. The Jesuit missionaries were also among the proprietors of the new town, having obtained from the Company of New France (see *note* 21, *ante)*, by a grant dated Feb. 15, 1634, six arpents of land at Three Rivers; but they did not secure possession of this till Montmagny delivered it to them (1637). However, within two months after La Violette, Champlain's lieutenant, had erected his stockade at Three Rivers, two of the Jesuit fathers,— Le Jeune and Buteux,— had established a residence there, which was for many years an important center of missionary work.— See Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vol. ii., pp. 48–54: he gives a list, containing also much genealogical information, of the early inhabitants of Three Rivers; and the document granting land there to the Society of Jesus, copied from *Titres seigneuriaux* (Quebec, 1852), p. 70. Cf. Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 270; he states that the church registers of Three Rivers are continuous since February, 1635; and that these records are the oldest existing in Canada. The first entry gives the exact date on which the settlement was begun — July 4, 1634.

Sulte has published, at Montreal, several works concerning this town: *Histoire de la ville des Trois-Rivières* (1870), *Chronique trifluvienne* (1879), and *Album de l'Histoire des Trois-Rivières* (1881).

25 (p. 171).— Father Nicholas Viel, then stationed at Montargis, France, was sent to the Canadian mission of the Récollets, with Brother Gabriel Sagard (see *note* 48, *post)*, in 1623. Arriving at Quebec, June 28 of that year, they at once accompanied Father Joseph Le Caron to the Huron country, which they reached in August, and settled at the residence already established at Quieunonascaran. At the end of ten months, Le Caron and Sagard returned to Quebec, leaving Viel in charge of the mission. In the summer of 1625, he went with the Hurons on their annual trading voyage to Quebec, taking with him an Indian lad named Ahautsic, whom he had baptized and confirmed. A storm scattering the fleet, the three Hurons in his canoe viciously threw him and his disciple into the water, at the last rapid above Montreal, which from that time has borne the name of Sault au Récollet. Sagard and Le Clercq give

full accounts of Father Viel's missionary work, and of his tragic death. The latter states that Viel left a dictionary of the Huron language, with other memoirs, in the hands of certain Frenchmen then living in the Huron country, who, later, conveyed the MSS. to Father Le Caron, at Quebec.

26 (p. 171).—Joseph Le Caron was one of the four Récollets who began the mission of that order in Canada (see *note* 22, *ante*). Verbal permission to engage in this work was given them by the papal nuncio at Paris, that their departure might not be delayed by waiting for the usual brief; for some unknown reason the issue of this paper was delayed until March 20, 1618. The original document is now in the departmental archives of France, according to Faillon (*Col. Fr.*, vol. i., p. 146). It is addressed to Father Le Caron and other Récollet brothers and priests: Sagard copies it in his *Canada*, pp. 12–17.

Upon arriving at Tadoussac, May 25, 1615, Jamay (the superior) went with Le Caron to Three Rivers, where they at once proceeded to establish a sedentary mission for the Indians. Leaving this in the care of Jamay (whose headquarters were at Quebec), Le Caron departed for the Huron country, living with the savages at their town of Carhagouha (near Thunder Bay; later known as Toanché). Here he remained until the following May, meanwhile visiting with Champlain the Tobacco Nation and adjoining tribes. By these Indians he was cruelly treated, at the instigation of the medicine men (whom the French missionaries styled "sorcerers").

In July, 1616, the Récollet missionaries held at Quebec a conference with Champlain and other friends of their work, at which it was decided that they needed more missionaries, more French colonists, and a seminary for the education of Indian children. To obtain aid in these directions, Jamay and Le Caron soon afterwards went with Champlain to France, where at first they received but little help or encouragement. Jamay remained to forward the interests of the mission; while Le Caron, now appointed its superior, returned to Canada in the spring of 1617, accompanied by Father Paul Huet. A year later, desiring to work personally among the savages, Le Caron delegated to Father d'Olbeau his authority as superior, and spent a year at Tadoussac, with the Montagnais. During 1619–22, he labored at Quebec, then again wintered with the Montagnais; and in July, 1623, returned to the Huron mission, accompanied by Viel and Sagard (see *notes* 25, 48). During his year's stay there, he did much to aid Champlain in securing the temporary treaty of peace which, in July, 1624, was concluded between the Iroquois, on one part, and the French and their savage allies on the other.

In August, 1625, Le Caron went to France on the affairs of the mission, and returned the following year with Brother Gervase Mohier and a reinforcement of Jesuit missionaries. He remained at Quebec, as superior of his mission, until 1629, when all the priests were sent back to France by Kirk. As the Récollets expected to resume work on the Canadian mission, Le Caron was appointed its procurator in France; but he died on March 29, 1632,—according to Le Clercq—through grief at the exclusion of his order from Canada.

Upon the invasion of Canada by the English, the Récollet missionaries had been urged by their savage disciples to take refuge with them in their towns, where they would be safe from attack, and could minister to the religious wants of the natives until the French should return. The fathers wished to accept this proposal; but as it was opposed by the council of Quebec, Le Caron felt obliged to decline it, for which he was afterwards blamed by some of his brethren in France.

Full details of his work are given by Le Clercq and Sagard: the former copies a letter written by La Caron to his provincial at Paris, Aug. 7, 1618; also fragments of memoirs sent by him to that officer in 1624.—See Shea's *Le Clercq*, vol. i., pp. 134–137, and 213–224. He is said to have prepared a dictionary of the Huron language (*Ibid.*, p. 249). Other MSS. of his were burned in March, 1631, as a result of sanitary measures then taken against a contagious disease in the convent of St. Margaret, near Gisors, Normandy, of which he was superior.—See "Memorial of the Récollets, 1637," in Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1876–86), vol. i., p. 11.

27 (p. 173).—*The purpose of his voyage.* Sagard tells us (*Canada*, p. 871) that this was to improve the condition of Canada, and to ask the King for funds to support the children and new converts in the seminary planned by the Récollets. Le Clercq asserts that it was through Le Caron's influence that Emery de Caen was recalled from Canada, and replaced by a Catholic, Raymond de la Ralde (who had been De Caen's lieutenant); also that the same influence had much to do with the formation of Richelieu's Company of New France.—See Shea's *Le Clercq*, vol. i., pp. 253–259. Rochemonteix, however, claims (*Jésuites*, vol. i., p. 165) that Richelieu's determination to replace Montmorency's company by that of the Hundred Associates was due mainly to Father Noyrot's influence, and to his representations of the state of affairs in Canada.

28 (p. 177).—Mutio Vitelleschi was born at Rome, in 1565; on Nov. 15, 1615, he became Aquaviva's successor as general of the Society of Jesus; his death occurred Feb. 9, 1645. Ranke, in *History of the Popes* (Foster's tr., London, 1871), vol. ii., p. 388, says:

"Vitelleschi was by nature mild, indulgent, and conciliatory; his intimates called him the angel of peace; and he found consolation on his deathbed from the conviction that he had never injured any one. These were admirable qualities of a most amiable man, but did not suffice to fit him for the government of an order so widely extended, active, and powerful. He was unable to enforce strictness of discipline, even with regard to dress; still less could he oppose an effectual resistance to the demands of determined ambition." Daurignac, in *History of the Society of Jesus* (Clements's tr., Baltimore, 1878), vol. i., p. 398, says that he was designated "the Angel" by Pope Urban VIII., on account of his docility and humility. It was under his generalship (Feb. 12, 1622) that Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, and Francis Xavier, were canonized by Gregory XV.; that the first centenary of the society was held (Sept. 25, 1639), when its reports showed that it occupied 36 provinces, and had 800 houses and 15,000 members; and that the great controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits began. Even more important, according to Ranke, was the change which occurred, during this administration, in the government and discipline of the society, by which the "professed" members attained supremacy, and occupied positions in business, administration, and other affairs of the world, which before had belonged mainly to the coadjutors,—those of provincials, rectors, and superiors of colleges. The former ascetic strictness of discipline was relaxed; and the society became less ardent in its devotion to the interests of the Holy See. Vitelleschi and his immediate successors strove, but with little success, to correct these tendencies.—See Ranke, *ut supra*, pp. 387–393; he obtains most of his information from a MS. in the Corsini library at Rome, entitled *Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti, e loro modo di governare* (1681–86, *circa*). Cf. Daurignac's account (*ut supra*, pp. 324–398) of the order under Vitelleschi's administration.

29 (p. 177).—During the seventeenth century, all navigated seas were infested with pirates. Lescarbot mentions (vol. ii. of the present series, p. 131) that Poutrincourt met, in the English Channel, a ship of "Forbans" or pirates; the word "forban" means, literally, one banished, an outlaw, and characterizes most of the European pirates of the time. Sagard (*Canada*, 115, 120, 121), relates that, on his journey to New France, his ship was threatened by a Dutch pirate, in the very harbor of Rochelle. Sulte (*Can.-Français*, vol. ii., p. 20, *note*) cites the case of one of De Caen's vessels, which was captured (September, 1624) while en route from Gaspé to Bordeaux, by Turks, near the coast of Brittany; the Frenchmen were carried away as slaves.

Brown (*Cape Breton*, p. 110), who says he obtained his informa-

tion from original documents in the Public Record office at London, writes: "The fishermen of Newfoundland were cruelly harassed by pirates. In eight years (1612–20), the damage done by the pirates was estimated at 40,800 *l.*; besides the loss of 180 pieces of ordnance, and 1,080 fishermen and mechanics carried off by force. On August 8, 1625, the Mayor of Poole wrote to the Privy Council, saying that, unless protection were afforded to the Newfoundland fleet of 250 sail, 'of the Western Ports,' they would be surprised by the Turkish pirates; and, on the 12th of the same month, the Mayor of Plymouth informed the Council that twenty-seven ships and 200 men had been taken by pirates in ten days." Brown also cites *Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* (London, 1623), written by one Captain Whitbourne, who was sent out in 1615, to hold a court of admiralty for inquiry into certain abuses; and who says that Peter Easton, a pirate, had ten sail of well-appointed ships, that he was master of the seas, and levied a regular tax on fishing vessels.

As early as 1620, John Mason, then governor of Newfoundland, received a commission from the English admiralty to suppress pirates; and he captured, among others, a Sallee (or Moorish) pirate in the Irish harbor of Crookhaven (1625). Prowse (*Hist. N.F.*, pp. 108, 174, 182), gives the text of this commission; he also states that Placentia was raided five times previous to 1685, by English buccaneers, who plundered the town of all movable property.

30 (p. 177).— Jean de Brébeuf was born March 25, 1593, at Condé-sur-Vire, Normandy. He belonged to a noble family, from which, according to the *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1843–66), the English family of Arundel had its descent. Entering the Society of Jesus Nov. 8, 1617, at Rouen, he was ordained five years later; and in 1625 was sent to Canada as one of the first Jesuit missionaries (*note* 22, *ante*). The first year he spent among the Montagnais; but in 1626 went, with De Nouë, to the Huron country, where they settled at Toanché (known to the Récollets as Carhagouha; see *note* 26, *ante*), in the bark cabin which Le Caron had erected eleven years before. Here Brébeuf remained (alone, after the first year) until the capture of Quebec. Returning to Canada with Champlain (1633), he at once resumed work in the Huron country, where he labored until his death (excepting 1641–44, when at Quebec). During the winter of 1640–41, he endeavored (but without success) to establish a mission in the Neutral Nation. He lived successively at Ihonatiria, a new village built not far from the deserted Toanché; Teanaustayé, called by the missionaries St. Joseph, in the present township of Médonte, Simcoe county, Ontario; and St. Ignace and St. Louis, about half-way between the former towns. In March, 1649, a thousand Iroquois attacked and destroyed the two last-named

villages, capturing there Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, both of whom were put to death with cruel tortures,—the former dying March 16, the latter on the day following. Their bodies were rescued by their brethren, and their bones afterwards taken to Quebec,—where, in the Hôtel Dieu, Brébeuf's head is still preserved, inclosed in a silver bust sent from France by his family. A minute account of this martyrdom is given by one of the lay brothers of the Huron mission, Christophe Regnaut (Regnault), in a MS. written at Caen in 1678. A copy of this document, with an English translation, is given by Brymner, in *Canadian Archives*, 1884, pp. lxiii.–lxvii., and will in due course be reproduced in the present series.

Harris *(Miss. West. Canada.*, p. 212, *note)* states that he has seen in St. Martin's church (Ritualist), Brighton, England, a figured window in memory of Father Brébeuf. A memorial church, in honor of all the Jesuit martyrs in the Huron country, is now (January, 1897) approaching completion at Penetanguishene, Ontario; an illustration thereof will appear in vol. v. of this series.

Brébeuf's *Relations* of the Huron mission will appear in succeeding volumes of our series; that for 1636 contains an elaborate account of the social condition, manners, and customs of that nation, and a treatise on their language—this last being reproduced, in an English translation, by Albert Gallatin in *Transactions of Amer. Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii., (Cambridge, 1836), pp. 236–238. At the close of Champlain's *Voyages* (ed. 1632) may be found translations into Montagnais of Ledesma's "*Christian Doctrine*," by Brébeuf; and of the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, etc., by Massé.

31 (p. 181).—Anne de Nouë was born Aug. 7, 1587; his father was the seigneur of Prières and of Villers, near Rheims, France. Anne's early years were spent at court, first as a page, then as an officer of the King's bedchamber; but at the age of twenty-five he devoted himself to a religious life, and entered the Jesuit novitiate (Sept. 20, 1612). He spent ten years in the study of philosophy and theology, at the Jesuit colleges of Paris, La Flèche, and Nevers; then became acting rector at Bourges, where he remained until sent to Canada (1626). Accompanying Brébeuf to the Huron country, he came back to Quebec in the following spring, apparently remaining there until the English invasion. During this time he essayed to spend a winter with the Montagnais, but suffered so greatly from cold and hunger that he was obliged to leave them. Returning to Canada with De Caen (1632), his first care was to repair the convent and other buildings destroyed by the English. Unable, after repeated efforts, either to learn the native languages, or to endure the hardships of life among the savages, he spent the remainder of his life in the French settlements on the St. Lawrence,—ministering to the

sick and dying, instructing the colonists, supplying the temporal needs of his brethren, directing workmen who repaired buildings or cultivated the ground,—as Rochemonteix says, "he became, in the mission, the servant of all." His disposition was enthusiastic and impetuous, yet gentle, lovable, and self-sacrificing. On a journey to Fort Richelieu, to administer the sacraments to the garrison there, he was frozen to death on the St. Lawrence river, Feb. 1, 1646.

32 (p. 181).—Philibert Noyrot was born October, 1592, in the diocese of Autun; he entered the Jesuit order Oct. 16, 1617, and spent four years in study at Paris and Bourges. Four years later, having been ordained as a priest, he was appointed procuror of the latter college, retaining this office until his death. It was by his advice, according to Rochemonteix, that Ventadour (whose confessor he was) bought the viceroyalty of Canada from Montmorency. In 1626, Noyrot went to Quebec, taking with him twenty workmen to build a residence for the Jesuit missionaries there. Lalemant immediately sent him back to France, to report to Richelieu on the affairs of Canada, and to secure the removal of the Huguenots from the direction of the mercantile company. This resulted in the formation of the Company of New France (see *note* 27, *ante*). In order to relieve the scarcity at Quebec, Noyrot loaded a ship with a year's supply of provisions for the missionaries and their workmen; but, according to Le Clercq, these supplies were stopped at Honfleur by De Caen and La Ralde, from resentment at Noyrot's complaints about their conduct. In consequence of this disappointment, the workmen of the mission were taken back to France by Lalemant. Twice again did Noyrot seek to convey supplies to his brethren at Quebec: the first time (July, 1628), he was driven back by Admiral Kirk; the second (June, 1629), he perished by shipwreck near Canso (see *note* 20, *ante*).

33 (p. 181).—Regarding Cotton, (Coton) see vol. ii., *note* 68.

34 (p. 183).—For sketch of Massé, see vol. i., *note* 39.

35 (p. 191).—Le Clercq, apparently without good reason, mentions this letter as "falsely attributed to Lalemant."—See Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., p. 155, *note*.

36 (p. 191).—A younger brother of Charles Lalemant; a sketch of his life will be given in a later volume.

37 (p. 193).—*Meslin* (or *maslin*; derived from Latin *miscere*): mixed grain, especially a mixture of rye and wheat.

38 (p. 195).—Champlain wished to make Quebec an agricultural colony, but his efforts were thwarted by the narrow and selfish policy of the mercantile companies, who cared only to develop the fur trade. They gave the colonists no means for cultivating the soil, and, according to Champlain, "had not themselves cleared an arpent

and a half of land in the 22 years during which they were, according to his Majesty's intention, to have peopled and cultivated the colony of Quebec." Sagard says (*Canada*, p. 168) that the space cleared was not even one arpent. The merchants even oppressed Hébert (vol. ii., *note* 80),—"the only colonist who supported his family from the produce of his land, making many illegal claims upon him for his yearly harvests, and compelling him to sell only to the company, and that at a specified rate."—Champlain's *Voyages* (1632), part 2, pp. 144, 183, 184. Cf. *Mercure François*, vol. xiv. (1628), p. 234. The Récollet missionaries were cultivators, and, desirous of leading the savages from a nomadic to a sendentary life, even induced a few of the latter to imitate their example. The Jesuits also paid much attention to agriculture.—See Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 161–164; Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 154–157; and Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vol. ii., p. 18.

Champlain says (Laverdière's ed., pp. 1144, 1155) that the plow was first used in Canada, April 27, 1628; this was doubtless by Couillard, Hébert's son-in-law.

Arpent: a word of Celtic derivation, according to Columelle and Littré; it occurs as early as the eleventh century (e.g., *Chanson de Roland).* An old French land measure, containing 100 square perches, but varying in different provinces. The linear arpent of Paris was 180 French feet (variously computed at from 191.83 to 192.3 English feet), the common arpent 200, and the standard arpent 220. The first of these was the one used in New France, under the *Coutume de Paris*, and it still remains the legal measure in all the seigniories of Quebec. The Quebec Department of Crown Lands, which we adopt as preferable authority, translates the arpent into 191.85 English feet.

Bourdon's map of the settlements on the St. Lawrence, from Quebec to Cape Tourmente (1641; reproduced at end of Tanguay's *Dict. Généal.*, vol. i.), indicates that each lot had seven arpents of river frontage, and a depth of a French league or more (84 arpents to the league). Giffard's concession at Beauport (the first of the seigniories) was 1½ leagues along the river, and the same in depth.—Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vol. ii., pp. 47–48. Duralde's survey of the Illinois country (1770) assigned to each inhabitant a lot, measuring from one to four arpents wide, and forty arpents deep.—See H. W. Williams's chapter on "St. Louis Land Titles," in Scharf's *History of St. Louis* (Phila., 1883), vol. i., pp. 316–329. Williams, whom Scharf indorses as an authority, computes the arpent at 192 feet 6 inches, English measure.

The assignment of lands throughout New France in long, narrow strips, was obviously made to secure for each settler a frontage on

the river, then the main highway; and to bring the inhabitants of each settlement into close neighborhood, for social and defensive purposes. The same reasons, of course, governed the allotment of lands in Roger Williams's colony at Providence (1640),—an interesting similarity to French Canadian custom. The "home-lots" at Providence had an (estimated) river frontage of 105 to 120 English feet, all running up to a common highway along the crest of the back-lying ridge; each lot contained from 4½ to 5½ acres. For description and plats, see Charles W. Hopkins's *Home Lots of the Early Settlers of Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1886).

39 (p. 201).—Cf. vol. iii., *note* 22.

40 (p. 201).—See vol. ii., *note* 21.

41 (p. 205).—Cf. vol. iii., *note* 19.

42 (p. 209).—For value of écu, see vol. i., *note* 34. The livre was a money of account, in value somewhat less than the modern franc; but in ordinary speech, both terms signified the same value; six livres = one crown. The livre of Tours was worth 20 sous; that of Paris, 25 sous. The pistole was a money of account, equal to ten livres tournois, and worth ten francs of the present currency.

43 (p. 211) *Anti-Coton:* a sarcastic pamphlet, published in September, 1610; it attacked the Jesuits, and especially Father Coton, the confessor of Henry IV., of whose murder the Jesuits had been accused by their enemies. Daurignac says (*Hist. Soc. Jesus*, vol. i., p. 295) that this pamphlet was attributed to Pierre Dumoulin, a Protestant minister of Charenton. This and other like attacks on the Jesuits had been circulated in Canada, and had prejudiced against them even many Catholics.

44 (p. 233).—This mention of Lalemant being at Pentegoët in 1613, has been copied by some later writers; but it is apparently an oversight. Biard would certainly have included Lalemant in his account of the Acadian missions, if the latter had been there.

45 (p. 237).—Alexander Vieuxpont was born Dec. 25, 1599, at Auxeville, Normandy. He became a Jesuit novice Sept. 13, 1620, at Rouen, and for seven years pursued his studies there, at Rennes, and at La Flèche. Thence he was sent to Alençon, and two years later (June, 1629), he went with Noyrot to Canada. Cast ashore near Canso, in the shipwreck wherein the latter perished, Vieuxpont went to Grand Cibou, to join Father Vimont, then laboring among the savages of Cape Breton. In 1630, recalled to France by his superiors, he became a traveling preacher in the rural districts near Rouen; he did not return to Canada.

46 (p. 243).—After the destruction of Port Royal (1613), the English took no immediate steps to secure possession of Acadia. Eight years later, Sir William Alexander (afterwards secretary of state for

Scotland) obtained from James I. a grant of all the lands from the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, under the title of "Nova Scotia;" thus were ignored all French rights in that region. In 1625, this grant was renewed by Charles I., with considerable additions. Alexander, not having the necessary funds, was unable to establish any colonies there until 1627; when (having associated with himself Gervase Kirk and his sons, William Berkley, John Love, and others, under the title of "Merchant Adventurers of Canada"), he sent his son, as governor of Nova Scotia, with a few Scotch emigrants, to form a settlement at Port Royal. David Kirk, whose vessel had conveyed them, returned to England for reinforcements; and, in the following year, he seized Miscou, and all the French fishing vessels in the Gulf; threatened Quebec; and captured De Roquemont's squadron, sent by the Hundred Associates with supplies and artillery for Champlain's succor. In 1629, he captured Quebec. Early in that year, Sir James Stewart, who had purchased a tract of land from Alexander, brought a colony to Port Baleines, Cape Breton (near the present Louisburg); he also began to seize the French vessels fishing on that coast. This excited the anger of Captain Charles Daniel (one of the Hundred Associates, and a brother of the Jesuit Antoine Daniel), who had recently come from France; he seized and demolished Stewart's fort, and proceeded to erect another at Grand Cibou. (This name, meaning "the great river," was doubtless applied by the natives to the estuary now known as Great Bras d'Or; but Daniel's colony was planted at St. Anne's Bay,—thus named by him,—just north of the Bras d'Or). Charles Leigh, who made a voyage to Cape Breton in 1597, mentions "the harborow of Cibo;" see Goldsmid's *Hakluyt*, vol. xiii., p. 69. Here he left a garrison of forty men, with the two Jesuits Vimond and Vieuxpont, and took the English colonists back to their own country (except a few, whom he carried to France as prisoners). Champlain, arriving in Dieppe Dec. 31, 1629, met Daniel there, and obtained from him his "Relation" of the above enterprise, which is given in Champlain's *Voyages* (1632), part 2, pp. 271–275.

In the following year, Daniel returned to this fort, and settled certain disorders that had arisen during his absence. It is not definitely known how long the garrison was kept here; but, when De Caen took possession of Canada (1632), the Jesuits Davost and Antoine Daniel also came to Cape Breton (probably with Charles, the latter's brother), and carried on the mission begun by Vimont. Denys, a few years later, had an important settlement at St. Anne's.

47 (p. 243).—Vimont remained at Cape Breton but a year, and did not return to Canada until 1639. A sketch of his life will appear hereafter.

48 (p. 247).—Gabriel Sagard Theodat, a lay brother, was one of the Récollet missionaries to Canada, where he arrived June 24, 1623, in company with Father Nicholas Viel. He states, in his *Canada*, p. 11, that he desired to go on this mission in 1615, at which time he was in a Récollet convent in Paris; but his superiors would not then consent. Sagard's missionary labors were among the Hurons, with whom he remained nearly one year; returning then to France, he wrote and published two books,—*Grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (Paris, 1632), and *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636). In these works he minutely describes the customs, social condition, religion, etc., of the Indian tribes; and gives a history of the missionary labors of the Récollets, up to their expulsion in 1629. To the *Grand Voyage* he appends a dictionary of the Huron language. He died in 1650.

There is some confusion among historians in regard to the dates of Sagard's sojourn in New France, which apparently arises from his own inaccuracy of statement, or possibly from a typographical error. In his *Histoire* (Tross ed., 1866), p. 115, he says that he left France in 1623; but, in the *Grand Voyage* (Tross ed., 1865), p. 5, he gives the year as "vingt-quatre;" while, in the former work, p. 759, he gives in full the letter of his provincial recalling him to France, dated March 9, 1625. Champlain, however, says that Sagard arrived at Quebec in June, 1623, and returned from the Huron country in July, 1624.

Sagard's works are rare, and command high prices. Brunet says (in Michaud's *Biog. Univ.*) that five and even eight guineas were paid for a copy at public sales in London; and that, in France, one was valued in 1851 at 210 francs. Chevalier says, in his edition of the *Histoire* (Paris, 1866), p. iii., *note*, that 1,200 francs had in vain been offered for a copy of that work. Gagnon (*Bibliog. Canad.*) states that a copy brought $38 at the Fraser sale in Quebec, 1860; and that one had been offered by a Paris bookseller, in 1890, for 1,200 francs.

49 (p. 247).—Father Felix Martin was born Oct. 4, 1804, at Auray, in Bretagne, France; in September, 1823, he became a novice in the Jesuit order, entering the convent of Montrouge, at Paris. During nearly twenty years, he was employed in various colleges and missions throughout Western Europe; and, early in 1842, was sent to Canada. There he labored, especially in Montreal, until August, 1851, when he became the first rector of St. Mary's College in that city; he was its founder, and the designer of its building. In this position he remained until 1857, when he became superior of the residence at Quebec. Four years later, he returned to France, where he was, successively, rector of St. Francis Xavier's college at

Vannes, and superior at Poitiers and Rouen. He died at Paris, Nov. 25, 1892.

Father Martin published (Montreal, 1852) a French translation of Bressani's *Breve Relatione* (1653), accompanied by explanatory notes and a biographical sketch of Bressani. Later, he wrote the lives of Jogues, Brébeuf, and other early missionaries; and, in 1886, a biography of his sister, Mother St. Stanislas, a French nun. He was also noted as an antiquarian and collector, especially in regard to the Jesuit *Relations* and the history of Canada. Carayon's *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada* (Paris, 1864), described in Bibliographical Data for Doc. xiii. in vol. iii., p. 285, a valuable collection of documents, all of which are embodied in our series, consists of manuscripts collected by Father Martin, chiefly in 1858, while on a visit to Europe.